THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

VOL. I.

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM THE FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF THAT MONARCHY TO THE *PRESENT REVOLUTION.*

Res geſtæ regumque ducumque, & triſtia Bella. Hor.

VOL. I.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

PREFACE.

THE following performance is with diffidence ſubmitted to the judgment of the public. The difficulties that muſt have occurred in compriſing the principal events of a great kingdom, during more than twelve centuries, within two octavo volumes, may probably entitle them to the candour of the reader: But the author would be inexcuſable did he not devote a moment to the mention of the different authorities on which the work is founded.

In French he has diligently conſulted the Hiſtories of Daniel, Mezeray, and Henault; the Memoirs of Sully and De Retz; the Hiſtories of Lewis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth, by Voltaire; and Monteſquieu's Spirit of Laws.

In Engliſh he is principally indebted to Mr. Wraxall's Memoirs of the Race of Valois, Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles the Fifth, Watſon's Hiſtory of Philip the Second, and Hume's Hiſtory of England; nor would he wiſh to conceal that in ſome few inſtances, where he found it neceſſary to convey the exact ſenſe of theſe writers, he ſhould have thought it preſumption to have altered their expreſſions.

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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

Chapter the First.

ORIGIN AND FIRST EXPEDITIONS OF THE FRANKS.—REIGN OF CLOVIS;—HIS VICTORIES OVER THE ROMANS, THE ALEMANNI, THE BURGUNDIANS, AND THE VISIGOTHS;—HIS CONVERSION TO THE CHRISTIAN FAITH;—DIVISION OF HIS EMPIRE BETWEEN HIS SONS THIERRI, CLODOMIR, CHILDEBERT, AND CLOTAIRE.—SUCCESSION AND EXTINCTION OF THE MEROVINGIAN RACE.

WHILE the Roman Empire, under the joint government of Valerian and Gallienus, was attacked on every ſide by the blind fury of foreign invaders, the name and warlike ſpirit of the Franks were firſt revealed to the aſtoniſhed and trembling natives of Spain and Africa. The origin of theſe martial barbarians, whoſe poſterity

compoſe one of the moſt powerful and enlightened monarchies of Europe, has employed every effort of learning and ingenuity; Panonia, Gaul, and the northern parts of Germany, have ſucceſſively claimed and been allowed the honour of their birth: But theſe diſcordant conjectures are rejected by the more rational critics; and it is now generally ſuppoſed, that about the two hundred and fortieth year of the chriſtian æra, under the reign of the emperor Gordian, a confederacy was formed by the inhabitants of the lower Rhine and the Weſer: Theſe aſſumed the honourable name of FRANKS, or FREEMEN; and the laws of their union, which at firſt were dictated by mutual advantage, were confirmed by gradual experience.

A. D. 240.

The Rhine, the boaſted ſafeguard of the Roman provinces, proved but a feeble barrier againſt theſe enterpriſing confederates; the devaſtations of the Franks ſtretched from that river to the foot of the Pyrenees; their army penetrated through the paſſes of thoſe difficult mountains; and Tarragona, the capital of a peaceful province, was ſacked and almoſt deſtroyed by their rapacious fury. For twelve years, while the imperial ſceptre was feebly ſwayed by Gallienus, Spain was the theatre of their deſtructive hoſtilities; the ports of the exhauſted country ſupplied them with veſſels to tranſport themſelves

A. D. 260.

ſelves into Mauritania; and Africa beheld with terror and aſtoniſhment the manners and habits, the complexion and ferocious courage, of theſe new invaders.

In the reign of Probus, the Franks were compelled by the victorious arms of that monarch to repaſs the Rhine, and ſhelter themſelves in the flat maritime country A. D. 277. which they already occupied, interſected and overflown by the ſtagnating waters of the redundant river; but a colony eſtabliſhed by the emperor on the ſea-coaſt of Pontus, animated by their unconquerable love of freedom, ſeized a fleet ſtationed in the harbours of the Euxine, and reſolved to explore their way from the mouth of the Phaſis to that of the Rhine. They eſcaped through the Boſphorus and Helleſpont, and ſpread their depredations along the coaſts of the Mediterranean; the defenceleſs and unſuſpecting ſhores of Aſia, Greece, and Africa were afflicted by their frequent deſcents; the city of Syracuſe was ſurpriſed, her treaſures rifled, and her inhabitants maſſacred. Thence directing their courſe to the columns of Hercules, they committed themſelves to the wide expanſe of the ocean; and ſteering through the Britiſh channel, landed triumphant on the Batavian or Friſian ſhores.

During a long period of barbaric darkneſs the Franks are concealed from our view; but they e-

merged again when the throne of Valentinian the Third was ſhaken by the Scythian torrent, and Attila poured on the empire the tempeſt of his arms. The Franks, who had already eſtabliſhed the right of hereditary ſucceſſion in the Merovingian race, eagerly ſeized the favourable moment of enterpriſe, and embraced the opportunity of extending the limits of their monarchy, ſtill confined to the neighbourhood of the Rhine. Diſpargum, a village between Louvain and Bruſſels, was the reſidence of Clodion, the firſt of their kings mentioned in authentic hiſtory: Informed by his ſpies of the defenceleſs ſtate of the adjacent country, he preſſed through that part of the foreſt of Ardennes between the Scheld and the Meuſe, occupied the cities of Tournay and Cambray, and extended his conqueſts as far as the river Somme. Though ſurpriſed and routed by the Roman general Ætius, he ſoon retrieved his ſtrength and reputation, and maintained the poſſeſſion of his new acquiſitions. But his death expoſed his kingdom to the diſcord and ambition of his two ſons; and while the elder ſought the formidable alliance of Attila, the Scythian monarch, the younger implored and obtained the protection of the court of Rome.

A. D. 440.

The weſtern empire of Rome, ſeparated from that of the eaſt, already rapidly verged towards its diſſolution; and the authority of Odoacer, a barbarian

barbarian mercenary, was extinguiſhed by the reign of Theodoric the Oſtrogoth, when the kindred tribes of the Franks ſeated along the Scheld and the Meuſe, the Moſelle and the Rhine, were attracted by the ſuperior merit of Clovis, who had ſucceeded to the command of the Salic tribe by the death of his father Childeric. The narrow limits of his kingdom were confined to the iſland of the Batavians, with the ancient dioceſes of Tournay and Arras; but his martial bands were ſwelled by the voluntary allegiance of his countrymen, and his victorious banner was followed by the warriors who, though governed by the independent kings of the Merovingian race, were free to ſhare the fortunes of a popular and ſucceſsful general.

Ægidius, a noble Roman and the maſter-general of Gaul, had eſtabliſhed an independent ſovereignty beyond the Alps. When the Franks were diſſatisfied with the youthful follies of Childeric their king, they entruſted the ſceptre to the hand of the Roman general; but as ſoon as the fickle barbarians repented of their injury to the Merovingian race, the reſtoration of the lawful prince was prudently acquieſced in by the moderation of Ægidius: Syagrius, his ſon, with the authority at leaſt if not with the title of king, poſſeſſed the city and dioceſe of Soiſſons, with Rheims and Troyes, Beauvais and Amiens. The glory of the

father, with the power of the ſon, excited the jealouſy and ambition of Clovis; and Syagrius accepted the hoſtile defiance of his rival, and appointed the day and the field of battle. The Roman chief, with his diſorderly multitude, was vanquiſhed by the intrepid Franks at Nogent, about ten miles from Soiſſons: The unfortunate Ægidius in vain eſcaped to the diſtant court of Thouloufe, he was ſurrendered to the menaces of the victor; the Belgic cities, Soiſſons, Rheims, Provence, Sens, Troyes, and Auxerre, opened their gates to the triumphant Clovis, whoſe dominions toward the eaſt were enlarged by the dioceſe of Tongres, a conqueſt which he atchieved in the tenth year of his reign.

A. D. 491.

The Alemanni had ſpread themſelves in Gaul over the modern provinces of Lorrain and Alſace, and their invaſion of the kingdom of Cologne ſummoned Clovis to the defence of his kinſman and ally. In the plains of Tolbiac, twenty-four miles from the city of Cologne, the two armies encountered each other with equal valour and mutual animoſity. In the firſt onſet the ranks of the Franks were broken, and the ſhouts of the Alemanni proclaimed their hopes of victory: But the battle was reſtored by the ſkill and example of Clovis; the Franks returned to the charge, and their tranſient diſgrace

A. D. 495.

was

was effaced by a cruel ſlaughter. The Alemanni in vain endeavoured to ſhelter themſelves in the deep receſſes of their foreſts; their king, the laſt who could boaſt that title, periſhed in the field, and his ſubjects were preſerved only by the moderation of the conqueror, who condeſcended to accept their ſubmiſſion, and permitted them, while they acknowledged his ſovereignty, to retain their peculiar manners and inſtitutions, under the government of official, and at length, hereditary dukes.

Clovis had been early educated, and perſevered until the thirtieth year of his age, in the errors of paganiſm: But although he had hitherto rejected or diſregarded the evidence of chriſtianity, his ſubjects of Gaul enjoyed the free and uncontrolled exerciſe of their religious worſhip. He had eſpouſed in the fair Clotilda, the niece of the king of Burgundy, a zealous catholic; and the influence of the queen was inceſſantly directed towards the converſion of her huſband. Some ſuperſtitious fears were excited in Clovis by the death of their infant ſon, who had been purified in the fount of baptiſm; but he was perſuaded to renew the ſacred experiment; and in the battle of Tolbiac, when the broken ranks of the Franks were preſſed by the Alemanni, Clovis loudly invoked the god of Clotilda and of the chriſtians: His deciſive victory contributed to confirm his wavering mind; he

liſtened reſpectfully to the holy eloquence of Remigius, the biſhop of Rheims, and declared himſelf fully ſatisfied of the truth of the catholic faith. Political reaſons might ſuſpend for ſome time his public avowal, but in the ſixteenth year of his reign the important ceremony of his baptiſm was performed with ſolemn magnificence in the cathedral of Rheims; and on the ſame day three thouſand of his obedient ſubjects imitated the devout example of their ſovereign. The mind of Clovis had been affected by the pathetic tale of the Paſſion and the Death of Chriſt; and inſenſible of the beneficial conſequences of the myſterious ſacrifice, he exclaimed, with religious fervour, "Had I been preſent with my va-"liant Franks, I would have revenged his inju-"ries." But though he publicly profeſſed to acknowledge the truth of the goſpel, the divine precepts which it inculcated were but little reſpected by the aſpiring barbarian; after diſmiſſing a Synod of the Gallican church, he calmly aſſaſſinated all the princes of the Merovingian race; and the only monarch in the chriſtian world free from the ſtain or imputation of hereſy, was perpetually employed in the aggrandizement of his dominions by the violation of every moral and religious duty.

A. D. 496.

The conqueſts of Clovis were equally atchieved by his head and hand, and even his converſion contributed

contributed to promote his ambition. The independent cities of Gaul were influenced by their prelates to acknowledge the juriſdiction of a catholic king; the Armorican provinces, (a name which comprehended the maritime country of Gaul, between the Seine and the Loire) abandoned by the Romans, had united for their defence, and under the form of a free government had endeavoured to repel the deſultory deſcents of the northern pirates. Though the inſtable foundation of their republic had been repeatedly ſhaken, yet they guarded with vigilance their domeſtic freedom, and aſſerted the dignity of the Roman name. The valour they had diſplayed in repelling the attacks of Clovis, excited the eſteem of that martial monarch, and their ſucceſsful oppoſition produced an honourable union; they accepted without reluctance the generous capitulation of a catholic hero, and the power and ſtrength A. D. 497. of the ſon of Childeric were increaſed to a formidable height by theſe voluntary acceſſions; but the reduction of the northern provinces of Gaul was the gradual operation of war and negociation; and Clovis acquired each object of his ambition by the united efforts of force and art.

The kingdom of the Burgundians extended from the foreſt of Voſges to the Alps and the ſea of Marſeilles. Gondebaud, the uncle of Clotilda, who held the ſceptre, to ſecure his throne from domeſtic

domeſtic contention, had ſacrificed the lives of two of his brothers, one of whom was the father of the queen of the Franks; a third brother, Godegeſil, had been ſpared by his policy or humanity, and was ſuffered to poſſeſs the dependent principality of Geneva. The faith of Gondebaud was ſtained with Arianiſm, but his ſubjects were ſtrongly inclined to the orthodox religion; and his brother Godegeſil conſpired with Clovis, who was ſtimulated by inordinate ambition, holy zeal, and a deſire to revenge the murder of the father of Clotilda. In a battle fought between Langres and Dijon, Gondebaud, deſerted by Godegeſil, was forced to yield to the treachery of his brother and the irreſiſtible valour of the Franks; he abandoned to the purſuit of Clovis the important cities of Lyons and Vienna, and fled with precipitation to Avignon: The impetuous ardour of the victor was checked by the ſiege of that city; the vigour and reſolution of Gondebaud induced the ſon of Childeric to liſten to terms of accommodation; a certain annual tribute was ſtipulated; a conſiderable ſum of money was immediately diſburſed to ſatisfy the demands of the Franks; and Godegeſil was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Vienna, and ſeveral other places which he had occupied during the courſe of the war.

A. D. 500.

The army of Clovis had ſcarce retired from the territories

territories of Gondebaud, before that monarch prepared to efface his diſgrace, and avenge the treaſon of his brother. He aſſembled with diligence an army at Lyons, and advanced with rapidity towards Vienna, which was garriſoned by five thouſand Franks, commanded by Godegeſil in perſon. The ſecret paſſage of an aqueduct was revealed to Gondebaud by a perfidious citizen; in the ſilent hour of night, a choſen band entered the ſubterraneous channel; they inſtantly ſeized the moſt important poſts; the gates were thrown open to their companions; the Franks who eſcaped the ſword, were ſent priſoners to the king of the Viſigoths; and by the death of Godegeſil, the king of Burgundy a third time, in the ſame city, ſtained his hands with fraternal blood.

The capture of Vienna was followed by the ſubmiſſion of the other cities which had been occupied by Godegeſil; the inhabitants acknowledged the authority, and implored the clemency of their lawful ſovereign, who declared to Clovis that he muſt no longer expect that tribute he had preſumed to extort. Although the pride of the king of the Franks muſt have been ſenſibly wounded by this declaration, though he could not be indifferent to the fate of his ſubjects and the death of his ally, yet the conqueror of Gaul diſſembled the injury, releaſed the tribute, and accepted the alliance

alliance and military ſervice of the king of Burgundy.

The kingdom of the Viſigoths, eſtabliſhed by the great Alaric in the ſouthern provinces of Gaul, had, during the reign of Theodoric his ſon, acquired ſtrength and maturity; after the death of Theodoric, who fell in the battle of Chalons defending the Roman empire againſt the invaſion of Attila the king of the Huns, his ſceptre paſſed to his eldeſt ſon, Torriſmond, who was aſſaſſinated by his brother Theodoric the Second; that prince experienced the ſame fate from Euric, a third brother; and the ambition of Euric aſpired to extinguiſh the Roman authority in Spain and Gaul. After reducing in the former province the cities of Saragoſſa and Pampeluna, and penetrating into the heart of Luſitania, he paſſed the Pyrenees; from thoſe mountains, with the exception of Berry and Auvergne, he extended his conqueſts to the Rhone and the Loire. His premature death delivered the neighbouring barbarians from the dread of his growing power; his throne was inadequately filled by the feeble youth of his ſon Alaric; and the long peace which had enervated the martial ſpirit of the Viſigoths, the inexperience of their ſovereign, and the implacable zeal of orthodoxy, prompted Clovis to invade the peaceful and Arian kingdom of Alaric.

A. D. 451.

In

In the city of Paris, which he already conſidered as the royal ſeat of government, the king of the Franks propoſed to his nobles and warriors the Gothic expedition. "It is with concern," ſaid he, "I ſuffer the Arians to poſſeſs the moſt "fertile part of Gaul; let us, with the aid of god, "march againſt them, and having conquered "them, annex their kingdom to our dominions." The Franks applauded the religious ardour of their ſovereign; and Clovis, in conformity with the piety of the age, having vowed to erect a church in honour of the holy apoſtles, prepared to march againſt a prince, whoſe friendſhip he had recently cultivated by the moſt ſolemn profeſſions of regard.

Although Alaric was deſtitute of military experience, in perſonal courage he was not inferior to his aſpiring rival: The Viſigoths, long diſuſed to war, once more reſumed their arms, and crowded round the ſtandard of their youthful king; but their preſumptuous valour was unequally oppoſed to the diſcipline and veteran intrepidity of the Franks. In the deciſive battle fought on the banks of the Clain, about ten miles to the ſouth of Poitiers, the Goths were totally routed, and purſued with a cruel ſlaughter. Alaric, diſdaining to fly, ruſhed againſt his royal antagoniſt, and obtained an honourable death from the hand of Clovis. An infant ſon, a baſ- A. D. 507.

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tard competitor, factious nobles, and a diſloyal people, facilitated the progreſs of the victor. Aquitain readily ſubmitted; and the king of the Franks, without further oppoſition, eſtabliſhed his winter quarters at Bourdeaux.

In the enſuing ſpring, Thouloufe ſurrendered; the royal treaſures of that capital were tranſported to Paris; and the walls of Angouleme fell before the fortune of the conqueror. But the rapid career of Clovis was checked by the policy and power of Theodoric, the king of the Oſtrogoths; that prince, with the concurrence of the Roman emperor of the eaſt, had delivered Italy from the uſurpation of Odoacer the Mercenary, and eſtabliſhed in it the ſeat of his own independent ſovereignty. The monarch of Italy had eſpouſed Albofleda, the ſiſter of Clovis, and had alſo beſtowed his daughter in marriage on the late king of the Viſigoths. He had in vain endeavoured to maintain, by mediation, the tranquillity of Gaul; and early educated in the profeſſion of Arianiſm, he was influenced by religious as well as political motives, to oppoſe the ambition of Clovis, and to preſerve the remaining poſſeſſions of the kindred Viſigoths. He declared himſelf the protector and guardian of the infant ſon of Alaric; and Clovis, who had formed the ſiege of Arles, was defeated with the loſs of thirty thouſand men, and was forced to re-

A. D. 508.

treat

treat with diſgrace before the general of the great Theodoric: Yet the Franks ſtill retained the greateſt part of their late acquiſitions; and the ample province of Aquitain, from the Pyrenees to the Loire, was indiſſolubly annexed to the French monarchy.

The honours of the Roman conſulſhip, which had been conferred on the king of Italy by Zeno, the emperor of the eaſt, was by his ſucceſſor Anaſtaſius, beſtowed on the king of the Franks. Amidſt the ſhouts of the joyful multitude, who inceſſantly repeated the acclamations of conſul and Auguſtus, Clovis entered the cathedral of Tours, after being inveſted in the church of St. Martin with a purple tunic and mantle. By theſe honorary diſtinctions the actual authority of the monarch of Gaul was not augmented; but the Romans were diſpoſed to revere in the perſon of their maſter the conſular title, and the emperors by theſe marks of friendſhip and alliance, tacitly ratified the conqueſts of the ſon of Childeric. A. D. 509.

The ties of conſanguinity, the precepts of the pure religion he had ſo lately profeſſed, were not ſufficient to reſtrain the ambition of Clovis; his throne was cemented by the blood of his kinſmen, the Merovingian princes. A. D. 510.

Among other victims to his inſatiate thirſt of power, we diſcern Sigibert, the king of Cologne, with

with his ſon Clodoric; Cararic, whoſe dominions are not preciſely aſcertained; Ranacaire, who reigned over the dioceſe of Cambray; and Renomer, whoſe independent authority was acknowledged by the territory of Maine: Yet theſe cruelties were in the eyes of the clergy expiated by his holy ardour in the cauſe of chriſtianity; and a barbarous age was eager to admire and applaud the orthodox zeal and liberal piety of the ſon of Chilperic.

In the laſt year of the reign of Clovis he reformed and publiſhed the Salic laws; a few lines of theſe, which debar women from inheriting any part of the Salic lands, have been applied as precluding females from the ſucceſſion to the crown of France; and the origin and nature of theſe lands have perplexed and exerciſed the ingenuity of our moſt learned and ſagacious critics. The promul-

A. D. 511. gation of this artleſs ſyſtem of juriſprudence was ſoon after followed by the death of the monarch himſelf, who expired at Paris in the forty-fifth year of his age and the thirtieth year of his reign. Among his contemporaries, the valour and victories of Clovis certainly allowed him to claim the foremoſt rank; but his valour was ſtained with cruelty, and his victories obſcured by injuſtice. In the invaſion of the Burgundians and Viſigoths, the moſt partial hiſtorians have deſcribed him as the aggreſſor; and though

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in the battle of Tolbiac his ſword was drawn againſt the Alemanni in the defence of his ally and kinſman Sigebert, yet he ſoon after heſitated not to ſecure his throne by the death of that very ally in whoſe cauſe he had triumphed. His ruling paſſion was to render himſelf abſolute monarch of all Gaul; and he may be conſidered as more fortunate in the execution of his deſigns than juſtifiable in the means he employed. In private life, after his converſion to chriſtianity, he was chaſte and temperate; nor does it appear that the huſband of Clotilda ever violated the purity of the marriage-bed.

The conduct and character of the Founder of the French monarchy, naturally excite our curioſity and enquiries; but it is not conſiſtent with the limits of this work to beſtow an equal degree of attention on his immediate ſucceſſors. His dominions were divided between four ſons; Clodomir, Childebert, and Clotaire, the children of Clotilda, reigned with independent authority over Orleans, Paris, and Soiſſons; and Thierri, the illegitimate offspring of Clovis before his marriage, poſſeſſed the greateſt part of Aquitaine, and erecting a new kingdom under the name of Auſtraſia, fixed the ſeat of his government at Metz.

The ſons of Clotilda were prompted by ambition, and the reproaches of their implacable mother, deſirous of avenging the death of her father

on the family of the aſſaſſin, to invade the kingdom of Burgundy. Gondebaud was no more; and his ſon and ſucceſſor, Sigiſmond, was ſtained with the blood of an infant child, whom he inhumanly ſacrificed to the pride and reſentment of a ſtep-mother. The Burgundian monarch, who had too late diſcovered his error, was arouſed from the proſtrate poſture of penitence, to defend his crown and life againſt the rapacious invaders of his country: His efforts were in vain; he was defeated in a deciſive battle, deſerted by his ſubjects, and, with his wife and two of his children, was buried alive in a deep well, by the ſtern command of the ſons of Clovis. His brother Godemar ſtill maintained the war; but his forces, in a ſecond battle, were routed by Clodomir: yet the victory proved fatal to the victor; and Clodomir, entangled in the purſuit, was in the moment of triumph ſurrounded and ſlain. Of his two ſons, the elder was afterwards maſſacred, and the younger was immured in a convent by the boundleſs ambition of their uncles.

A. D. 523.

A. D. 524.

The arms of Childebert and Clotaire atchieved the final conqueſt of Burgundy; overwhelmed the remaining poſſeſſions of the Viſigoths, whoſe youthful king, Amalaric, ſunk into the grave; and divided the dominions of their late brother Clodomir. But an alliance

A. D. 524, 558.

founded

founded in guilt was not likely to be of long duration; their friendſhip was ſoon interrupted by mutual complaints, and at length gave way to open hoſtilities. A temporary reconciliation was with difficulty effected; and the natural death of Childebert preſerved Clotaire from the commiſſion of a crime which he had long contemplated, if not with pleaſure, at leaſt without horror.

During theſe various tranſactions, Thierri, the king of Auſtraſia, acquired by arms the poſſeſſion of Thuringia, and bequeathed it with the reſt of his dominions to his ſon Theodebert, who reduced under his authority Auvergne, reſiſted the ambitious enterpriſes of his uncles, Childebert and Clotaire, and invaded with impartial rapacity the Italian territories of the Romans and the Oſtrogoths. His premature death placed the Auſtraſian ſceptre in the hands of his natural ſon Theodebalde; and on the demiſe of that prince, his ſubjects conſented to acknowledge as their ſovereign Clotaire, who by the ſubſequent deceaſe of Childebert united the dominions of Clovis under his ſole government. A. D. 511, 553.

Clotaire had ſcarce time to taſte the joys of undivided empire before he was ſummoned by death, to account for the means by which he had acquired it; and his four ſons immediately divided the kingdom which he had cemented at the

expence of ſo much blood. Paris fell by lot to Caribert; Orleans and Burgundy to Gontran; Auſtraſia to Sigebert; and Soiſſons to Childebert. The death of Caribert once more kindled the flames of diſcord among the Merovingian princes; and a feeble compromiſe, which divided the city of Paris into three parts and confined each prince to his ſeparate diſtrict, was not likely to extinguiſh the glowing embers. It is unneceſſary to diſguſt the reader with the unintereſting ſeries of fraternal diſcord, or the immortal hatred of Brunchant, the wife of Sigebert, and Fredegonde, firſt the concubine and afterwards the conſort of Chilperic. During ſucceſſive years open violence and ſecret intrigue, the ſword and the dagger alternately interrupted the tranquillity of the ſubject, and aſſailed the life of the ſovereign. Sigebert was aſſaſſinated at the inſtigation of Chilperic; and that prince himſelf was afterwards doomed to experience the ſame perfidy as he had practiſed againſt his brother. His ſon, Clotaire the Second, then only four months old, was protected in the poſſeſſion of Soiſſons by his uncle Gontran, the king of Burgundy, againſt Childebert, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Sigebert of Auſtraſia. The death of Gontran devolved his dominions on the Auſtrafian monarch, who in vain renewed his attempts on the youthful king of Soiſ-

A. D. 562, 613.

ſons;

ſons; and expiring ſoon after, left his kingdom and his two infant ſons the victims of their own ambition, and of the artifices of the very prince whom he himſelf had endeavoured to oppreſs.

The different provinces of Gaul again obeyed the authority of a ſingle maſter, and the ſole power which had been poſſeſſed A. D. 613. by Clotaire the Firſt was revived in his grandſon, Clotaire the Second, who during fifteen years held the reins of government with a ſteady hand, and chaſtiſed, in a ſignal victory, the inſolence of the Saxons. On his death, his eldeſt ſon, A. D. 628. Dagobert, who had already received from his father the crown of Auſtraſia, ſucceeded to the kingdoms of Neuſtria, (which compriſed the country between the Meuſe and the Loire) and Burgundy: To his younger brother, Caribert, he aſſigned a part of Aquitaine, with the royal city of Thouloufe. The deceaſe of Caribert, who enjoyed his tranſient ſovereignty but three years, was followed in a few days by that of his ſon Chilperic, who was ſuppoſed to fall a victim to the ambition of his uncle; and Aquitaine again was annexed to the crown of France, and to the dominions of Dagobert. An unſucceſsful war with the Sclavonians induced this monarch to reſign the ſceptre of Auſtraſia to his eldeſt ſon, Sigebert; and the death of the former, after a reign A. D. 628. of ten years, confirmed Sigebert in the

poſſeſſion of Auſtraſia, and devolved on him the kingdoms of Neuſtria and Burgundy.

From this period, the reign of the Merovingian princes was over-ſhadowed by the power of their ſubjects, the mayors of the palace: In Auſtraſia, the names of Sigebert, Dagobert, Childebert, and Childeric ſucceſſively, but darkly, mark the adminiſtrations of Pepin and his ſon Grimoalde: In Neuſtria and Burgundy, Clovis the Second, and Clotaire the Third, were obſcured by the authority of Archambaud and Ebroin. After a diſcordant æra of internal revolutions, Auſtraſia was re-united to Neuſtria and Burgundy, under the ſole name of Thierri, the ſon of Clotaire the Third; but the government was entirely entruſted to Ebroin, the mayor of the palace, whoſe boundleſs ambition and bloody tyranny provoked the revolt of the nobility of Auſtraſia: Theſe elected as their independent dukes Martin and Pepin, already united by the ties of blood. The forces of the confederates were defeated by Ebroin; and Martin, who had ſurrendered the city of Laon on a promiſe of ſafety, was beheaded by the perfidious mayor. But Pepin had employed each moment of the ſiege in recruiting his ſhattered forces; and the aſſaſſination of Ebroin, by the hand of a private enemy, delivered him from an

A. D. 673.

A. D. 688.

an active and implacable rival, and opened the road of greatneſs to the Carlovingian princes.

The arms of Pepin, ſurnamed d'Heriſtal from his palace on the Meuſe in the neighbourhood of Liege, ſoon after the death A. D. 690. of Ebroin penetrated into the Vermandois, and defeated the royal army commanded by the new miniſter Bertaire and animated by the preſence of Thierri himſelf; this victory rendered Pepin maſter of the capital, the finances, and the perſon of the king. While he engroſſed the public authority, he affected to treat the captive monarch with every mark of external reſpect; and the proud claims of ſucceſsful uſurpation were concealed beneath the veil of apparent humility. During the various nominal reigns of Thierri, Clovis the Third, Childebert, and Dagobert, he maintained his power unſhaken and undiminiſhed; and his repeated triumphs over the Friſons, the Alemanni and the Bavarians, confirmed his influence and extended his reputation: The laſt years of his life were embittered by the loſs of his ſon Grimoalde, who fell a victim to the envy of the nobility; but his death was ſeverely revenged by Pepin, who ſoon afterwards terminated with his laſt breath, a proſperous adminiſtration of twenty- A. D. 714. ſix years, having previouſly appointed his grandſon Theudoalde, then only ſix years old, the mayor of the palace.

From a race of princes deſtitute of virtue and ability, we turn with pleaſure to their powerful miniſters, whoſe enterpriſing counſels and ſteady valour augmented the glory and protected the dominions of the French empire. The infant years of Theudoalde were indeed oppreſſed by the jealouſy of his ſovereign Dagobert, and the defeat of his adherents was ſoon followed by his death: But the tottering houſe of Pepin was propped by the ſplendid talents of his illegitimate ſon Charles, who, amidſt the alternate viciſſitudes of fortune, diſplayed a magnanimity of mind worthy of his father. Burſting from the bands of enthrallment, he was received with open arms by the Auſtraſians, raiſed to the dignity of duke, and entruſted with the abſolute command of their forces; though encompaſſed by difficulties, his genius roſe ſuperior to his ſituation. The death of Dagobert relieved him from an antagoniſt, who diſplayed a degree of ſpirit uncommon in the degenerate Merovingian race; and the election of Chilperic from the cloyſter, preſented a competitor whoſe virtues were unequal to pierce through the miſts of a monkiſh education. In his retreat through the foreſt of Arden, the camp of the incautious monarch was ſurpriſed by the vigilant Charles; and in a more conſiderable

A. D. 715.

A. D. 716.

March 19, A. D. 717.

action

action between Arras and Cambray, the royal forces fled before the ſword of the Auſtraſians.

The diſtreſs of Chilperic prompted him to negociate an alliance with Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, who during theſe troubles had occupied all the Franks formerly poſſeſſed on the other ſide of the Loire; the friendſhip of Eudes was purchaſed by the ſolemn ceſſion of the country he had ſeized. To encounter with equal arms his adverſaries, Charles, in imitation of the policy of his father Pepin, raiſed to the throne A. D. 719. in Clotaire a new phantom of royalty; and advancing rapidly to Soiſſons, ſurpriſed by his unexpected appearance the confederate princes. The hoſt of Chilperic and Eudes gradually diſſolved before the preſence of the hero; and the duke of Aquitaine, hopeleſs of ſucceſs, accepted from Charles the ſame terms as he had ſtipulated with Chilperic, and delivered the Merovingian king into the hands of the duke of Auſtraſia.

The misfortunes of the unhappy Chilperic, whoſe conduct has procured him an honourable exemption from the liſt of indolent princes, received ſome alleviation from the reſpectful treatment he experienced. On the death of Clotaire, Charles cauſed him to be acknowledged king of Auſtraſia, and ſovereign of all the dominions of the Franks; but from this moment, the adminiſtration was abſolutely veſted in the mayors of the palace; and the

obſcure names of ſucceſſive Merovingian princes, whoſe feeble characters are deſcribed by the epithet *faineans*, lazy, have almoſt eluded the reſearches of the hiſtorian.

One competitor ſtill rejected the authority and oppoſed the arms of Charles; and Rainfroy, who had been appointed by Dagobert the mayor of the palace, obtained from his vigorous defence an advantageous treaty with the peaceable enjoyment of the country of Anjou. The indefatigable efforts of Charles had no ſooner triumphed over domeſtic foes than he prepared to encounter the foreign enemies of the ſtate: His life was ſucceſsfully and inceſſantly exerciſed in the cabinet and the field; the Suevians and
A. D. 725. Friſons were vanquiſhed; the haughty ſpirit of the Alemanni was broken by reiterated victories; twice he baffled the perfidious enter-
A. D. 731. priſes of Eudes, and by the invaſion of Aquitaine, taught him in future to obſerve the faith he had pledged: The diſtreſs ofthat prince ſoon ſummoned Charles to his relief; and the duke of the Franks, in the defence of the religion of Chriſt, prepared to erect a noble monument to his own glory.

In the rapid growth of little more than a century, the faith of Mahomet had over-ſhadowed the provinces of the eaſt; the victorious Saracens had penetrated into Europe, occupied Spain, paſſ-

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ed the Pyrenees, and appeared under the walls of Thouloufe. Near that city, in an obſtinate engagement with Eudes, the lieutenant of the Caliph loſt his life and army: But the faithful were not diſmayed by adverſity; the barrier of the Pyrenees was once more burſt; the ſouth of France ſubmitted to the religion of Arabia; and Eudes, defeated by Abderame, the leader of the Saracens, was reduced to ſolicit the protection and implore the aſſiſtance of the duke of the Franks.

The forces of the confederates were commanded by Charles and Eudes; between Tours and Poitiers the chriſtian religion was vindicated againſt the followers of Mahomet. During ſix days of deſultory combat, the archers and horſemen of the eaſt maintained A. D. 732. their wonted ſuperiority; but on the ſeventh, the hoſt of the Saracens was oppreſſed by the robuſt ſtature and nervous courage of the warriors of the weſt. On that memorable occaſion, the weighty ſtrokes of Charles firſt acquired him the ſurname name of *Martel*, the *Hammer*; the bloody field was ſtrewed with Abderame himſelf, and, if we credit the monkiſh writers, three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand Mahometans. But though this number is, doubtleſs, exaggerated, the victory was complete; the chiefs of the Saracens, amidſt the terror of the night, provided each for his ſeparate ſafety;

ſafety; and Aquitaine was recovered by the arms of Eudes.

A ſecond irruption of the Muſſulmen into Provence revived the laurels of the invincible Martel, who in a deciſive battle humbled again the Friſons, and ſlew their duke with his own hand. On the death of Eudes, Charles granted Aquitaine to Hunalde, the ſon of that prince, reſerving to himſelf the claim of homage without mentioning Thierri, who had ſucceeded to Chilperic as titular monarch, and who expired ſoon after. The ambitious mayor of the palace no longer deigned to conceal his authority beneath the ſanction of the Merovingian name, and without appointing any ſucceſſor to Thierri, ruled the empire of France with abſolute power. His weighty mediation with the Lombards engaged the gratitude of pope Gregory the Third; and the Roman pontiff ſent him the keys of the tomb of St. Peter, offered to ſhake off his dependence on the emperor, and to proclaim Charles conſul of Rome; but while the duke of the Franks favourably regarded and encouraged this negociation, the perſons moſt intereſted in it, pope Gregory the third, Leo the third emperor of the eaſt, and Charles Martel himſelf, within a few ſucceſſive months, ſunk into the grave.

A. D. 741. On the twenty-ſecond of October, after an uninterrupted career of proſperity,

perity, during an adminiſtration of twenty-two years from the battle of Cambray, Charles Martel breathed his laſt in the fiftieth year of his age. Although his victories over the Saracens moſt probably preſerved Europe from the impending yoke of Mahomet, yet the future happineſs of the ſaviour of Chriſtendom has been impeached by the legends of the monks; and the clergy, who reſented the freedom with which he applied the revenues of the church to the defence of the chriſtian religion, have not heſitated to enroll him among the damned: In a letter addreſſed to Lewis, the grandſon of Charlemagne, it is aſſerted, that on opening the tomb of Charles Martel, the ſpectators were affrighted by the ſmell of fire and the aſpect of an horrid dragon; and that a ſaint of the times was indulged with a viſion of the ſoul and body of the founder of the Carlovingian race burning in the abyſs of hell.

In an aſſembly of the nobles, a ſhort time previous to his death, Charles aſſigned to his eldeſt ſon, Carloman, Auſtraſia; and to his ſecond ſon, Pepin, ſurnamed *the Short*, Neuſtria and Burgundy; to a third ſon, the iſſue of a ſecond marriage, he only allotted ſome lands in France; and the reſentment of Grippon ſoon diſturbed the tranquillity of his brothers. With the aid of his mother Sonnechilde he occupied the city of Laon, and ſurrendered not till he had endured a cloſe

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and vigorous ſiege. Sonnechilde was by the victors diſmiſſed to a convent; and Grippon was confined in a caſtle in the foreſt of Arden.

The prejudice which might have attended the diviſion of the empire, was averted by the entire harmony which prevailed between the two brothers, Carloman and Pepin. To reſtrain the turbulent diſpoſition of the nobles, the latter reſtored in Childeric, the ſon of Thierri, the regal title; but Carloman, though he aſſented to the propriety of this meaſure in Neuſtria and Burgundy, ruled Auſtraſia, which he conſidered as hereditary in his family, with independent authority: The intrigues of their mother-in-law ſoon compelled the two brothers to vindicate their different titles by arms: That enterpriſing woman had negociated a marriage between Hiltrude, the ſiſter of Carloman and Pepin, and Odilon the duke of Bavaria. The Bavarian, inſtigated by Sonnechilde, and alarmed at the growing power of the ſons of Martel, formed a confederacy with Theodebald, duke of the Alemanni, and Theodoric the duke of the Saxons; a formidable army was aſſembled, and the allies, to cover their country and protect their camp, cautiouſly poſted themſelves with the river Lech in their front.

A. D. 742.

Carloman and Pepin were not ignorant of their danger, nor unacquainted with the deſigns of the confeder-

confederates; at the head of their faithful Franks they advanced towards the enemy, paſſed the river at different fords at the ſilent hour of night, and at the ſame moment attacked the camp of the allies. During five hours A. D. 743. the action was maintained with perſevering valour; but at length the entrenchments were forced on every ſide; the dominions of the Bavarians and Saxons were delivered to the rapacity of the victorious ſoldiers, and the dukes gladly embraced the offer of pardon, on the renewal of their homage and a ſolemn promiſe of future fidelity.

During the abſence of the two brothers, Hunalde, duke of Aquitaine, in conſequence of his engagements with Odilon, paſſed the Loire, ravaged the open country, and conſumed with fire the magnificent cathedral and the greateſt part of the city of Chartres. On the approach of the Franks, he haſtily retreated; and in the enſuing year the inſult was avenged by the preſence of Pepin, at the head of a numerous army. A. D. 744. Aquitaine was doomed to expiate by the calamities of war the crime of her ſovereign; and Hunalde, tormented with the pangs of diſappointed ambition, reſigned his dominions to his ſon, and retired to a convent.

Far different were the motives which influenced Carloman to embrace a life of religious ſolitude; even in the moment of triumph, in the midſt of

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ſucceſſive victories, he conceived the deſign of ſecluding himſelf from the follies and vices of the world in the ſilent gloom of a cloyſter. In vain did his brother Pepin, at leaſt with the appearance of ſincerity, labour to diſſuade him from a deſign ſo grateful to his own ambition: Firm and unalterable in his reſolution, after humbling the rebellious nations of Germany, Carloman aſſumed the monaſtic habit, and fixed his final
A. D. 746. reſidence in a benedictine abbey on Mount Caſſin. But while he dedicated the remainder of his life to retirement and religion, his manly mind deſpiſed the auſterities of the Aſcetics, who mortified their affections as the price of eternal happineſs.

The undivided adminiſtration of the empire of the Franks was, by the abdication of Carloman, veſted in the hands of Pepin; and we are pleaſed to diſcover in the treatment of his younger brother, a proof of the regret with which he acquieſced in the ſeceſſion of his elder. Grippon was immediately releaſed from his tedious confinement, entruſted with the juriſdiction of a large domain, and the expenditure of conſiderable revenue: Adverſity might have damped, but it had not extinguiſhed the latent flame of ambition; he once more incited the duke of the Saxons to ſupport his claims by the terror of a foreign invaſion; the arms of Pepin triumphed again; the Saxons were

were routed; their duke Theodoric, the captive of the victor, was from that moment buried in oblivion; and his subjects purchased their pardon by the sacrifice of their religion, and purified themselves in the baptismal fount from the crime of rebellion. A. D. 747.

The death of Odilon, duke of Bavaria, devolved his sceptre on his infant son Tassilon; and his widow Hiltrude readily offered an asylum to her half-brother, the fugitive Grippon. A. D. 748. Assisted by a strong body of malecontent Franks, the perfidious suppliant seized his sister and her son, and usurped the dukedom of Bavaria: But his transient power vanished on the approach of Pepin; Tassilon was once more restored to his dominions; and Grippon again pardoned by his brother, again endeavoured to awake the dormant embers of faction; and escaping from the city of Mans, sought protection in the court of the duke of Aquitaine.

The enemies of Pepin were crushed by his valour, his friends were multiplied by his liberality; all the powers of royalty had been exercised by the mayors of the palace, and the regal title was only wanting to confirm the succession, and gratify the ambition of the descendants of Charles Martel. The Franks were perplexed between the name and substance of their government; and the mayor and nobles were bound by a solemn oath

of fidelity to the feeble Childeric. Their common ambaſſadors addreſſed pope Zachary to diſpel their ſcruples and abſolve their promiſe; and the Roman pontiff pronounced, that it was lawful to transfer the regal dignity from hands incapable of maintaining it to thoſe which had ſo ſucceſsfully preſerved it; and that the nation might unite in the ſame perſon the authority and title of king. An anſwer ſo agreeable to the wiſhes of the Franks was received with tumultuous approbation; the unfortunate Childeric was degraded, ſhaved, and immured for ever in a monaſtery; and the final extinction of the blood of Clovis was forgotten in the riſing glories of the Carlovingian race.

A. D. 751.

Chapter

Chapter the Second.

THE MONARCHS OF THE CARLOVINGIAN RACE.—REIGN AND DEATH OF PEPIN THE SHORT.—ACCESSION OF CHARLEMAGNE, KING OF FRANCE AND EMPEROR OF THE WEST;—HIS VICTORIES IN AQUITAIN, SPAIN, ITALY, AND GERMANY;—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.—THE REIGN OF LEWIS LE DEBBONAIRE, OR GENTLE.—FINAL DIVISION OF THE DOMINIONS OF CHARLEMAGNE BETWEEN HIS GRANDSONS LOTHAIRE, LEWIS THE GERMAN, AND CHARLES THE BALD.

THE new monarch was ſoon ſummoned to defend by arms the dignity he had acquired; the revolt of the Saxons claimed the preſence of Pepin; and at the head of a royal army he chaſtiſed the levity of that turbulent people, and augmented their tribute. During this expedition he was delivered from the active enmity of an implacable relation: The reſtleſs temper of Grippon ever ſtimulated him to new enterpriſes; he determined to eſcape from the court of Aquitain, and to throw himſelf on the protection of Aſtolphus, the king of the Lom- A. D. 753.

bards; but he was ſlain as he boldly attacked, with a handful of troops, a fortified paſs on the confines of Italy. The ſubmiſſion of the Saxons was ſoon followed by that of the Britons; Narbonne was recovered from the infidels; and the injuries and preſence of pope Stephen the Third determined the devout conqueror to paſs the Alps in ſupport of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter.

The kingdom of the Lombards, which from the royal reſidence at Pavia extended to the gates of the ancient capital, oppreſſed the waining ſtrength and feeble age of Rome; Aſtolphus, the ſovereign of the hoſtile nation, had poſſeſſed himſelf of Ravenna, and extinguiſhed in Italy the nominal authority of the emperor of the eaſt; Rome was menaced by the victorious Lombard, and the life of each citizen was fixed at the annual tribute of a piece of gold. The Roman pontiff had in vain endeavoured to deprecate the injuſtice of his enemy; with fearful ſpeed he traverſed the Pennine Alps, and implored the protection of the monarch of the Franks: He was lodged in the Abbey of St. Denys, and, during a dangerous ſickneſs, attended by the king in perſon. On his recovery, Stephen ſolemnly placed the diadem on the head of his benefactor, beſtowed the regal unction on his ſons Charles and Carloman, and conferred on the three princes the title of Patrician of Rome.

As

As the friend of the Roman pontiff, as the father of the ancient capital of the world, the grateful Pepin, at the head of a zealous and martial people, conducted in triumph his late ſuppliant into Italy. A. D. 754. Aſtolphus, beſieged in Pavia by the devout Franks, renounced all pretenſions to the ſovereignty of Rome, reſtored the city and exarchate of Ravenna, and pledged his oath ſcrupulouſly to obſerve the conditions of the treaty. Ravenna was by the haſty generoſity of Pepin transferred to the holy ſee; and the king of the Franks, exulting in the ſucceſs of his expedition, repaſſed the Alps in triumph.

The ſatisfaction of Pepin was but of ſhort duration; the retreat of the Franks diſſipated the fears of Aſtolphus; he rejected the conditions which had been extorted from him, and already preſſed with menaces and arms the independence of Rome. An eloquent epiſtle, in the name and perſon of St. Peter himſelf, rekindled the zeal of the French monarch; the ſon of Martel reſumed his armour, and the rapidity of his march was only to be equalled by that of his ſucceſs. The diſtreſs of Stephen was relieved, the perfidy of Aſtolphus was chaſtiſed, by the appearance of the hero; the Lombard was a ſecond time compelled to ſue for peace; and to the former terms was added the ſtipulation of an annual tribute. The death of Aſtolphus ſoon after conſtrained the bar-

A. D. 756. barians to a tranſient ſtate of reluctant tranquillity; and their general Didier having ſeized the ſceptre, as a title to his uſurpation, ſolicited and obtained the ſanction of the Roman pontiff.

The repoſe of Pepin was diſturbed by a general revolt of the impatient Saxons; but their endeavours to break, ſerved only to rivet, their chains; and their pardon was purchaſed by a renewal of their tribute, and an annual ſupply of

A. D. 758, 763. three hundred horſe. Vaifar, duke of Aquitain, who had long regarded the growing power of Pepin with a jealous eye, ſeized the moment of commotion, entered Burgundy, and ravaged the open country as far as Chalons. But the king of the Franks was not to be inſulted with impunity; rapidly returning from Germany, he paſſed the Loire, levelled the caſtle of Auvergne, and extended his devaſtations as far as Limoges; Aquitain would probably have been reduced into the form of a province of the French empire, had not the deſigns of Pepin been interrupted by the ſecret and hoſtile preparations of his nephew Taſſilon, duke of Bavaria.

The boundleſs luſt of power which has marked the potentates of a more poliſhed period, is inva-

A. D. 763, 768. riably to be traced through the ſanguinary annals of a barbarous age: The ambition of princes has ſeldom been reſtrained

ſtrained by the ties of conſanguinity, or the impulſe of gratitude; and the moment that Taſſilon beheld with envy the riſing fortune of his uncle, he ceaſed to remember that Pepin had formerly delivered him from the uſurpation of Grippon. From the court of France he retired into his own dominions, renounced his homage to the French king, and prepared to aſſert by arms his claim of independence.

The prudence of Pepin was ſatisfied with ſecuring his frontier, by a chain of poſts, againſt the raſh incurſions of the Bavarian; and having provided for the internal peace of his own kingdom, he once more appeared in arms on the banks of the Loire, determined vigorouſly to proſecute the war in Aquitain: That river proved but a feeble barrier; and Vaifar, who at firſt had endeavoured to impede his progreſs by laying waſte part of the country, embraced the more generous reſolution of defending his dominions in a field of battle. A total defeat reduced him to ſue in vain for peace; the Duke of Bavaria, intimidated by the misfortunes of his ally, ſought a reconciliation, and by his ready ſubmiſſion diſarmed the reſentment of the victor, who advanced with diligence towards the banks of the Garonne. Diſtreſs diſſolved the allegiance of the ſubjects of Vaifar; and that unhappy prince, conſcious of his impending ruin, retired with a faithful band of

followers into the country of Saintonge, and defending himſelf with indignant valour with a ſigh of deſpair yielded up his crown and life.

The duchy of Aquitain was, by the arms and fortune of Pepin, re-annexed to the dominions of France; and the victorious monarch had ſcarce time to indulge the pleaſing viſion of future conqueſts, when he was reminded of the inſtability of human power by the ſymptoms of his approaching end. He was ſeized with a ſlow fever at Xaintes, was conveyed with difficulty to St. Denys, and expired there of a complication of diſorders, in the ſeventeenth year of his reign and the fifty-fourth year of his age. The diminutive form of Pepin concealed the mind and ſpirit of a hero; and his genius was equally diſplayed in action and in council; under his auſpices, France attained that ſtrength which enabled his ſon to purſue his triumphant career of greatneſs; but a lively people were intoxicated with the glory of the ſucceeding reign; and the humble epitaph inſcribed on the tomb of Pepin, "Here lies the father of Charlemagne," is an imputation on the diſcernment of poſterity.

A. D. 768.

The dying words of Pepin bequeathed his dominions to his ſons Charles and Carloman, who ruled with equal and undivided authority the empire of France: The boſom of the former was filled with the love of action and of glory; but the

feeble capacity of the latter regarded with envy the ſuperior fame of his brother; and his early death fortunately averted the dangers which menaced the infant grandeur of France from his hoſtile jealouſy.

The firſt doomed to feel the nervous arm of Charles was Hunalde, the old duke of Aquitain, who burſting from a monaſtic retirement of above twenty years, aſſumed the garb of royalty, and was received by the returning affections of his ſubjects: The moſt important cities freely opened their gates to their long-loſt ſovereign; and a conqueſt which had been laborioufly atchieved in ſucceſſive years, was threatened to be overwhelmed in a revolution of a few weeks. Charles was ſenſible how much his own reputation was concerned, to oppoſe the torrent; his entreaties perſuaded the reluctant Carloman to take the field; but the forces of the royal confederates were ſcarce joined before the fickle prince changed his ſentiments, withdrew with the troops more immediately attached to his ſtandard, and left his brother to ſupport alone the weight of the war. The commanding genius of Charles ſupplied the deficiency of his numbers; the duke of Aquitain, defeated in a deciſive battle, A. D. 769. eſcaped with difficulty to the territories of Lupus duke of Gaſcony, who ſurrendered him to the formidable embaſſy of Charles; and the captive

tive Hunalde was diſmiſſed to a priſon, from whence he eſcaped, to embark in new adventures and to endure new calamities.

A marriage which Charles had concluded with the daughter of Didier, the king of the Lombards, was diſſolved by the influence of the pope, who reproached that people with the firſt ſtain of leproſy; and in his holy invective, ſeems not unmindful of the ſufferings which their ſword had inflicted on the ſucceſſors of St. Peter. The death of Carloman, who was ſurpriſed by a mortal diſeaſe in the moment that he meditated a public rupture with his brother, had rendered Charles ſole maſter of the empire of the Franks; and the revolt of the Saxons engaged him in a war which, with ſome ſhort intervals, exerciſed his perſevering valour during thirty-three years. From the Rhine and beyond the Elbe, the martial inhabitants of the north of Germany were ſtill inimical to the government and religion of the Franks; they rejected with contempt the ſervile obligation of tribute, and in ſucceſſive engagements diſplayed a ferocious courage which could only be repulſed by the veteran intrepidity of the troops of Charles: A repetition of defeats humbled their haughty ſpirit. The diſturbances in Italy required the preſence of the king of the Franks; and the barbarians were content to offer, and Charles to accept, the

A. D. 771.

language

language of ſubmiſſion, which deceived neither party, and enabled both to wait a more favourable opportunity of executing their hoſtile or ambitious deſigns.

The Lombards, forgetful of the double chaſtiſement which they had received from Pepin, continued to harraſs the Romans with a repetition of vexatious claims and deſultory inroads. The apoſtolic ſee was protected by the zeal and prudence of pope Adrian the firſt, and the valour and greatneſs of the king of the Franks. At the entreaties of the former, the latter prepared to paſs the Alps; he ſkilfully evaded the fortified poſts of thoſe mountains; his preſence diſperſed the army of the Lombards, and while Didier with the old duke of Aquitain, who had eſcaped from priſon, took ſhelter in Pavia, his ſon Adalgiſe with the widow and children of Carloman, ſought immediate ſafety in Verona. Both cities were beſieged at the ſame moment by the impatient activity of Charles; Verona was ſoon compelled to ſurrender: Adalgiſe eſcaped to Conſtantinople; but the widow and ſons of Carloman are from that period loſt in oblivion. The victor, after a ſhort viſit to Rome and confirming and enlarging his father's donation to the ſucceſſors of St. Peter, returned to preſs the ſiege of Pavia; the arms of the Franks were ſeconded by an internal enemy, and the ravages of the plague deter-

A. D. 772, 773.

mined the inhabitants to implore the clemency of Charles: The old duke of Aquitain fell a ſacrifice to his conſtancy in oppoſing the tumultuous clamour of the people; the gates were thrown open; the kingdom of the Lombards was finally extinguiſhed; but the fate of their unhappy monarch Didier has eluded the reſearches of the hiſtorian.

In Milan, the victor was crowned king of Lombardy; and after receiving the oaths of allegiance from the nobility, he haſtened to repaſs the Alps, and reſtrain the deſtructive incurſions of the Saxons, who had already re-aſſumed their arms, and recovered Ereſbourg, near the Weſer, which they had loſt in the former campaign: That city, on the appearance of Charles, was again compelled to change its maſter; but a conſiderable detachment of the Franks, appointed to guard the paſſage, and ſeparated from their companions by the broad ſtream of the river, was in the moment of heedleſs confidence overwhelmed by the crafty barbarians. This check, with new diſturbances in Italy, induced Charles to receive, with hoſtages from the different tribes, the doubtful profeſſions of the Saxons; and after ſtrengthening the fortifications of Ereſbourg he pointed his march with unwearied dilgence towards the weſt.

A. D. 774.

The clouds which darkened Italy, and which had been ſwelled by the intrigues of the empe-

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ror of the eaſt and the fugitive Adalgiſe, were diſpelled by the preſence of the monarch; but the ſtorm ſtill ſhook the north with unabated violence, and the boaſted works of Ereſbourg were ſwept away by the fury of the tempeſt. The rapid return of Charles ſurpriſed the Saxons in the ſiege of Sigebourg, and his unexpected appearance once more renewed their profeſſions of loyalty. The fortifications of Ereſbourg were reſtored; new forts were conſtructed along the Lippe; an aſſembly of the barbarian chiefs was held at Paderborn, in Weſtphalia; and Charles having received their homage, prepared, at the ſolicitation of Ibinala, lord of Saragoſſa, to march into Spain, and to reſtore the ſuppliant Emir. A. D. 776, 777.

The authority of the exiled Arabian was reeſtabliſhed by the arm of the chriſtian monarch, who reduced Pampeluna, traverſed the Ebro, and ſucceſsfully inveſted the city of Saragoſſa. The rebellious followers of Chriſt and Mahomet were impartially oppreſſed by the defender of inſulted ſovereignty; and the march of Spain, which the victor inſtituted, extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro. Barcelona was the reſidence of a French governor; he obtained the counties of Rouſſillon and Catalonia; and the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon were ſubject to his juriſdiction: But in his return, his A. D. 778.

rear-

rear-guard was defeated in the Pyrenean mountains; and this action, which has been ſo much celebrated in romance for the death of the famous Roland, ſeems to impeach the military ſkill and prudence of Charles.

The enſuing year was dedicated by the indefatigable monarch to again ſuppreſſing the commotions of the Saxons, and to framing that ſyſtem of laws which has even commanded a degree of reverence in this more enlightened age. With his queen and his two younger ſons, Carloman and Lewis, he re-paſſed the Alps; repoſed during the winter at Pavia; and on the approach of ſpring, entered Rome amidſt the triumphant acclamations of the inhabitants. In that Imperial city, and in the preſence of the Roman pontiff, on Eaſter-day, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, he divided his dominions: He conferred on Carloman, who then changed his name to Pepin, the kingdom of Lombardy; and on Lewis he beſtowed that of Aquitaine: The latter he conducted in perſon to Orleans; but while he congratulated himſelf on the ſubmiſſion of Taſſilon, duke of Bavaria, and vainly imagined, that by the diviſion of the empire he had ſecured the tranquillity of his reign, the pleaſing viſion was diſſipated by the reſtleſs temper of the Saxons; and the perſevering valour of Charles was

A. D. 779.

ſeverely

ſeverely exerciſed in the bloody labours of three German campaigns.

The latent ſpark of independence ſtill glowed within the martial boſoms of the barbarians: The riſing flame was fanned by the breath of Witikind, a Saxon chief, who had twice retired from the victorious arms of Charles to the friendly court of the king of Denmark. His return inflamed the indignant ſpirit of his countrymen; his counſels guided, his courage animated them; the diſſentions of the royal generals enſured their defeat: The ſcanty and deſponding remnant of the Franks beheld before, a hoſt of enraged barbarians; behind, the rapid ſtream of the Weſer. Their deliverance was atchieved by the incredible diligence of Charles; the Saxons were again diſperſed; andthe implacable monarch burning for revenge, penetrated into the heart of their country. Witikind had again eluded the royal reſentment, but his confederates were the victims of offended majeſty; four thouſand five hundred of the champions of freedom purpled with their blood the polluted waters of the Weſer; and Charles, by the unprecedented execution, relinquiſhed his claim to humanity without attaining the ſubmiſſion of Saxony. A. D. 782.

The emotions of rage were for a moment ſuſpended by thoſe of fear; but they ſoon burſt forth with accumulated violence; A. D. 783, 785.

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and the ineffectual victories of three ſucceſſive years induced Charles, fatigued with the unavailing carnage, to attempt that by policy which he had fruitleſsly endeavoured to atchieve by force. He perſuaded Witikind and ſome of the moſt powerful chiefs to an interview; he urged to them the impending ruin of their country, and prevailed on them, by the powerful arguments of intereſt and flattery, to embrace the chriſtian faith, and to diſpoſe the minds of their countrymen to a faithful and permanent ſubmiſſion.

The revolt of the Saxons had been ſupported by the friendly aſſurances of Taſſilon, duke of Bavaria. The king of the Franks, at the head of a formidable army, was determined to chaſtiſe a faithleſs kinſman, whom no treaties could bind. The deſtruction of Taſſilon appeared inevitable; and Charles had already penetrated to the banks of the Lech, when the duke privately entered the camp, and threw himſelf at his feet. The abject poſture of the Prince excited the compaſſion of the monarch, and he was diſmiſſed to ſwell the account of his ingratitude and treachery. His hoſtile negociations were extended to the barbarian Huns, the emperor of the Greeks, and the fugitive Adalgiſe; his intrigues fomented the diſcontents of the factious nobles of Aquitain and Lombardy; but his ſubjects dreaded in his raſh deſigns their own deſtruction; they revealed

A. D. 787.

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the ſecret of his perfidy to Charles; and Taſſilon, as he fearleſsly entered the diet of Ingelheim, was arreſted by the command of the French monarch: The evidence of his guilt was inconteſtible; he was condemned, with his two ſons, to loſe his head; the puniſhment was commuted into monaſtic confinement, and the principality of Bavaria was annexed to the dominions of Charles. A. D. 788.

The fate of Taſſilon could not deter his confederates the Huns, and the emperor of the eaſt; but their enterpriſes only ſerved to augment the glory of Charles, and his commanding genius triumphed over the barbarians in the fields of Bavaria, and over the Greeks in the plains of Italy: The latter renounced for ever the fortunes of Adalgiſe, and the vain hope of reſtoring the kingdom of the Lombards; but the former ſtill continued their deſultory incurſions, and provoked him to retaliate the calamities they had inflicted on Bavaria. At the head of a formidable army, Charles entered the country of the Huns, forced their entrenchments in an obſtinate engagement, and penetrated as far as Raal, on the Danube; an epidemic diſorder, with the approach of winter, compelled him to retire; and his tranſient exultation was ſoon interrupted by a calamity of a domeſtic nature. His eldeſt ſon Pepin, impatient to taſte the joys of A. D. 788, 791.

empire, and envious of the eſtabliſhment of his younger brothers, conſpired againſt the life of his father; the unnatural project was revealed by a prieſt, who had accidentally fallen aſleep in the church where the conſpirators aſſembled; he was awaked by a number of voices, and found the aſſociates deliberating on their laſt meaſures. Charles was ſummoned from his bed to learn the guilt of his ſon; the feelings of a father checked the hand of juſtice, and doomed Pepin to expiate his crime by a life of religious penitence.

The reſtleſs ſpirit of the Huns was again in arms; the impatient Saxons once more threw off the yoke; the Moors deluged with their numbers the dominions of Charles in Spain; and while that monarch flattered himſelf with the vain hope of tranquillity, his conqueſts were ſhaken, and his kingdom aſſailed on every ſide. Inſtead of endeavouring inſtantly to repel the attacks of his enemies, with a well-appointed army; the king of the Franks waited to ſeize the favourable moment; the Moors were ſoon recalled by the victories of Alonſo the Chaſte, king of Leon; and Charles marched in perſon to chaſtiſe the Saxons, and humble the Huns.

A. D. 793.

The former conſented again to receive the chriſtian religion, and to deliver one-third of their army to the ſervice of the victor; the latter defended their freedom and country with

A. D. 795, 798.

with incredible obſtinacy. Although often defeated, their love of independence was invincible; and the war was only concluded by the death of the prince, and the almoſt annihilation of the people. One tribe alone was induced to ſubmit to the rites of baptiſm, and to acknowledge the ſovereignty of the king of the Franks.

The diſſentions of the Mooriſh chiefs invited Charles to the conqueſt of the iſlands of Majorca and Minorca; but the ſatisfaction attending this expedition was more than balanced by the tumults which reigned at Rome. After the death of Adrian, his nephew aſpired to the apoſtolic chair; but Leo the Third, a prieſt of the Lateran, was preferred by the voice of the electors. For four years, the diſappointed candidate nouriſhed the ſecret deſire of revenge; and, on the day of a proceſſion, a furious band of conſpirators aſſailed the ſacred perſon of the pope. Leo was left for dead on the ground; his revival from his ſwoon, with the natural recovery of his ſpeech and ſight, were improved to the miraculous reſtoration of his eyes and tongue, of which it was aſſerted he had been deprived by the knife of the aſſaſſins. From his priſon he eſcaped to the vatican, and was protected by the duke of Spoleto, then general of the French forces. Charles ſympathized in his diſtreſs, and invited the preſence of the Roman pontiff to his camp of Paderborn, in Weſtphalia;

with a numerous eſcort he diſpatched the holy ſufferer to Rome, and declared his intention ſoon to viſit the ſacred city, and to redreſs the grievances of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter.

The deſultory deſcents of the Normans already afflicted the dominions of Charles which bordered on the ſea: Theſe daring adventurers, deſcending from the ſnowy mountains of Norway, explored every ſhore that promiſed ſpoil, or ſettlement. Their naval atchievements commanded the preſence of the king himſelf; and the French monarch reſtrained his impatience to avenge the in-
A. D. 779. juries of his holy ally, till he had endeavoured to provide for the ſecurity of his own ſubjects, and to reſtrain the depredations of the northern pirates, by conſtructing forts at the mouths of the moſt navigable rivers. To this mode of defence he added a regular militia, and appointed ſquadrons, at proper ſtations, to cruiſe againſt the invaders.

After having diligently traverſed the boundary of his territories, the zealous monarch prepared to paſs the Alps, on his fourth and laſt pilgrimage to Rome. The conqueror of the Saxons was re-
A. D. 800. ceived in the eternal city with the due honours of King and Patrician. Leo was permitted to clear himſelf, by oath, of the crimes which had been imputed to him; and the ſacrilegious attempt againſt his life was puniſhed

by

by the exile of his enemies. It was on the feſtival of Chriſtmas that Charles appeared in the church of St. Peter; and after he had devoutly aſſiſted at maſs, the Pope ſuddenly placed a precious crown on his head, and the dome reſounded with the acclamations, "Long life to Charles the Auguſt, crowned by the hand of God! Long life and victory to the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans." The pope immediately conſecrated his head and body by the royal unction, and conducting him to a throne, paid him thoſe marks of reſpect which had been only claimed by the ancient Cæſars. In his familiar converſation with his Secretary and ſon-in-law Eginhard, Charles, who indiſſolubly blended in the name of *Charlemagne* the appellation of *magnus, great*, proteſted his ignorance of the intentions of Leo; and declared, had he known them, he would have diſappointed them by his abſence on that memorable day. But the preparations of the ceremony muſt have diſcloſed the ſecret; and though the ſon of Pepin affected to deſpiſe a title which was accompanied by no real advantages, yet, in his correſpondence with the emperors of the Eaſt, he exacted, with a ſcrupulous jealouſy, their acquieſcence in the dignity which he derived from the gratitude of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter.

Among the ambaſſadors who adored the greatneſs, and congratulated the fortune of the empe-

ror of the Romans, thoſe of the caliph Harun-Al-Raſhid gratified the piety of the chriſtian monarch, by the ceſſion of the holy ſepulchre, and the ſacred city of Jeruſalem: A more important negociation was entruſted to the miniſters of Irene, the empreſs of the eaſt; and the artful Princeſs, odious to her own ſubjects by the murder of her ſon, endeavoured to ſecure the protection of Charlemagne, who was then a widower, by a propoſal of marriage. The king of the Franks readily entertained the idea; two ambaſſadors were diſpatched to the Byzantine court; and if Charlemagne was ſincere in this treaty, he muſt have been diſappointed by the nuptials of Irene with Nicephorus: The new emperor of the eaſt conſented to acknowledge in his unſucceſsful rival the dignity of Auguſtus, and to ſettle the mutual boundaries of the two empires.

A. D. 803.

The Normans, whoſe adventurous ſpirit was deſtined to ſhake the empire of Charlemagne, under their leader Godfrey, menaced with their fleets and armies the tranquillity of the weſt. A tranſient peace was eſtabliſhed, from motives of mutual convenience; the ſubjects of Charlemagne were to reſpect the Norman territory, and Godfrey promiſed, in his piratical deſcents, to refrain from the dominions of the Franks.

A life

A life of continual action muſt have impaired the moſt vigorous conſtitution; and his exceſſive attachment to female charms, contributed to haſten the decay of Charlemagne's; while a momentary calm allowed him a ſuſpenſion from the labours of the field, at an aſſembly held at Thionville, he ſettled the final diſtribution of his dominions. Aquitain and Gaſcony, with the Spaniſh March, he aſſigned to his ſon Lewis; his poſſeſſions in Italy he confirmed to Pepin, and added to them the beſt part of Bavaria, with the country at preſent inhabited by the Griſons. To Charles, his eldeſt, he reſerved the more powerful kingdoms of Neuſtria, Auſtraſia, and Thuringia; and after publicly ſubſcribing the royal donation, he rendered it, in a ſuperſtitious age, more authentic by the ſanction of the Roman pontiff. A. D. 806.

The different princes were, in the ſame year, ſummoned to defend their new dominions by the force of arms; in Aquitain and Italy, Lewis and Pepin triumphed over the infidels, whom the former expelled from the iſland of Corſica, and the latter defeated in Catalonia. The revolted Sclavonians, who had ravaged Bohemia, were cruſhed by the power of Charles; and the declining age of Charlemagne liſtened with paternal fondneſs to the martial atchievements of his ſons.

But the cares of the imperial maſter of the weſt were numerous and frequent; his happineſs was rare and fleeting. The Normans already preſſed upon his empire with accumulated force; and the terror of the Scandinavian name had extended from the Baltic to the Britiſh Channel: The infirmities of waining life were ſilenced by the imperious voice of ambition; and Charlemagne's vain menace, that he would ſettle his diſputes with Godfrey on the Norman frontier, was retorted by the daring adventurer, that he would ſave him that trouble, by advancing with an army to the gates of Aix-la-Chapelle. The policy of Charlemagne delayed the threatened danger, by fomenting the diſcontent of the northern powers; but thoſe diſturbances were no ſooner quelled, than the ſquadrons of the Scandinavian rovers, commanded by Godfrey in perſon, caſt anchor on the coaſt of Friezeland.

The undiſciplined courage of the inhabitants, and the inexperienced bands of militia, were in vain oppoſed to the hardy invaders, trained to arms, and habituated to war. The French and Friſons were incapable of withſtanding their rapacious fury; and Charlemagne, with what forces he could haſtily collect, advanced to reſtore the confidence of the diſmayed provinces. Whilſt he anxiouſly awaited the ſignal of battle, he was agreeably ſurpriſed by the unexpected retreat of

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the enemy; and the dagger of a private aſſaſſin extinguiſhed the life of Godfrey, and delivered the king of the Franks from his moſt formidable antagoniſt. The ſon of the Norman chief inherited not the martial diſpoſition of his father; his firſt ſtep was to ſolicit a ſincere alliance with the emperor of the weſt; and Charlemagne was preſerved from hazarding the glory which he had ſo painfully acquired in a doubtful conteſt with the fierce warriors of Norway.

The ſatisfaction which Charlemagne indulged on this fortunate occurrence, was embittered by the death of his moſt favourite daughter Rotrude, and of Pepin, king of Italy: An infant and illegitimate ſon of that prince was by the diſconſolate emperor appointed to ſucceed to the Italian ſceptre; and the lapſe of a few months again beheld the unhappy monarch weeping over the tomb of his eldeſt ſon, Charles. The increaſing weight of public cares ſuggeſted to him the neceſſity of aſſociating his ſurviving ſon Lewis to the Imperial purple: The ceremony was performed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the aged emperor inculcated to his youthful colleague the maxims which had advanced, during his own reign, the happineſs of his ſubjects. His augmented infirmities admoniſhed Charlemagne to prepare for his impending end. About the middle of the month of January which ſucceeded the aſſociation of Lewis, he was attack-

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ed by a fever, and conſcious of his danger he beheld with firmneſs the approach of death. On the twenty-ſeventh, a fainting fit announced his ſpeedy diſſolution; and on the twenty-eighth, after uttering, in a low and faultering voice, theſe words, "Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my ſpirit," he immediately expired, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, and the forty-ſeventh year of his reign.

A. D. 814.

At the concluſion of the life of Charlemagne, it may be expected that ſome moments ſhould be employed in delineating his character, the maxims of his government, and the extent of his conqueſts. In height, he exceeded the common race of men, and the accuracy of a French writer has fixed his ſtature at upwards of ſix feet; his robuſt form was endowed with a mind equally ſtrong; and his patronage of literature is atteſted by the foundation of ſchools, the introduction of arts, and his familiar converſation with the learned whom he invited to his court. But though the encouragement of learning encircles with the pureſt luſtre the memory of Charlemagne, yet it cannot be concealed that his own acquiſitions were tardy and imperfect; and that, in the more mature period of his life, he ſtrove with difficulty to acquire the practice of writing. Simple in his dreſs, temperate in his diet, he bore with patient firmneſs the viciſſitudes of the ſeaſons; and the fatigues of war

were

were ſucceeded in peace by the manly exerciſes of the chace. Yet his moral virtues are ſtained with the charge of incontinence; and nine wives or concubines, with a train of licentious amours, proclaim the vigorous conſtitution of the king of the Franks, whoſe numerous illegitimate offspring ſought refuge and ſupport in the plentiful eſtabliſhment of the church, and whoſe daughters too openly indulged thoſe appetites which had ſullied the fame of their father.

As a ſtateſman, his prudence muſt be arraigned by the dangerous meaſure of dividing his kingdom among his ſons; but his counſels to his colleague, Lewis, which exhort him to conſider the people as his children; to be gentle in his adminiſtration, but firm in the execution of juſtice; to reward merit; to promote his nobles gradually; to chooſe his miniſters deliberately, but never to remove them capriciouſly; are maxims which cannot be too ſtrongly recommended, or too readily adopted. Yet his own humanity is impeached by the ſilent extinction of the ſons of Carloman; and even could he elude the doubtful fate of his nephews, the wanton maſſacre of four thouſand five hundred Saxons, who were beheaded on the ſame ſpot, ſpeak the unfeeling hero of a barbarous age. But although a mind inflated by proſperity might ſometimes be inſenſible to the voice of pity, it was his aſſiduous aim to improve the laws and

manners

manners of the Franks; the inveterate evils of the times were mollified by his government; and his attempts, however imperfect, announce the ſpirit of the legiſlator.

The victories of Charlemagne reſtored to the monarchy of France the province of Aquitain; confined the Britons to the ſhores of the ocean, and compelled them to acquieſce in the ſecurity of hoſtages and the diſgrace of tribute. His authority embraced that part of Spain which extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro, and comprehends Rouſillon and Catalonia, Navarre and Arragon. From the Alps to the borders of Calabria, Italy revered in the perſon of Charlemagne, the patrician of Rome, and the king of the Lombards; but the Dutchy of Beneventum, which ſpread over the modern kingdom of Naples, eluded rather than reſiſted the power of the ſon of Pepin; and after a tranſient ſubmiſſion, eſcaped from the French yoke. To the ſceptre of France, the emperor of the weſt united that of Germany; and the ſchools which he eſtabliſhed in the barbarous regions on either ſide of the Weſer, atoned, in ſome meaſure, for the cruelties he perpetrated in the purſuit of dominion. The Avars, or Huns of Pannonia, in vain oppoſed to his ambition their love of independence and hereditary valour: In eight ſucceſſive campaigns their youth were ſlaughtered, their treaſures rifled, and their

ſtrength

ſtrength broken; and the empire of the Franks ſtretched between eaſt and weſt from the Ebro to the Elbe or Viſtula; and between the north and ſouth from the duchy of Beneventum to the river Eyder, which ſtill ſeparates Denmark from Germany.

The union and ſtability of the weſtern empire depended upon the life of the hero who had reſtored it, and the mighty maſs was feebly inſpired by the ſoul of his ſon and ſucceſſor Lewis the Gentle. The adminiſtration of that prince in Aquitain had been ſtamped by the approbation of his father, and his reputation might perhaps have ſtood higher with poſterity, had he never been called from the regulation of a narrow principality to conduct the complicated machine of a great empire. Italy alone, of the dominions of Charlemagne, acknowledged in Bernard the ſon of Pepin a diſtinct maſter, who only confeſſed the ſuperiority of Lewis his uncle by the form of homage; but the reſt of the inheritance and acquiſitions of Charles were governed by the abſolute will of Lewis.

At the time that Lewis, ſurnamed *Debonnaire*, Gentle, aſcended the imperial throne of his father he had attained the mature age of thirty-ſix years, and had eſpouſed Ermangarde, the daughter of the count of Heſbai, of the dioceſe of Liege; three ſons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Lewis, were the fruits

fruits of theſe nuptials; the eldeſt was aſſociated to the empire, the two younger were entruſted with the governments of Bavaria and Aquitain, and each violated every tie of filial and fraternal duty. The partition of the empire was oppoſed by the arms and intrigues of Bernard king of Italy; his fruitleſs attempts proved fatal to himſelf; the ſtings of diſappointed ambition haſtened his premature death, which had already been decreed by the ſentence of the emperor. The fierce nations of the North, ſcarcely to be controlled by the genius of Charlemagne, diſdained the weak arm of his ſucceſſor; the Britons burſt again from their narrow bounds, and were with difficulty repelled and confined within their proper circle: But the moſt diſaſtrous events which diſtinguiſhed the year, were the death of Ermangarde, and the marriage of Lewis with Judith, deſcended from the nobles of Bavaria and the dukes of Saxony; but whoſe ſplendid accompliſhments concealed an ambitious mind, the ſource of equal calamities to her conſort and the empire.

A. D. 817.

The meek piety of the maſter of the weſt had nouriſhed the holy ambition of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter; and Paſchal the Firſt, without deigning to ſolicit the conſent of the emperor, ſeated himſelf in the apoſtolic chair. To Lothaire was aſſigned the important taſk of humbling the aſſuming

pope;

pope; but the excuſe of the artful prieſt was too readily accepted; the liberality of Lewis confirmed to the holy ſee the prodigal donation of his anceſtors; and Lothaire condeſcended to receive his crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff. A. D. 823.

It is unneceſſary to diſguſt the reader with the weakneſs of a monarch, who was prevailed on by monkiſh influence to atone, by public penance, for the firmneſs with which he had guarded his ſceptre from the invidious attempts of his nephew Bernard; and I haſten from his vain efforts to convert the unbelieving warriors of Denmark, to the birth of his ſon Charles, whoſe fatal pretenſions ſhook the throne of his father, and involved the empire in the calamities of civil war. Already that empire was aſſailed by the fury of its foreign enemies; the Britons once more reſumed their arms, and violated their recent oaths of allegiance; a torrent of Moors deluged the face of Catalonia; the revolt of Navarre may be conſidered as the foundation of its future independence; and the ambitious deſigns of the empreſs Judith cloſed the gloomy proſpect with the dark ſcene of fraternal diſcord. A. D. 824. 830.

The kingdom firſt intended for Charles was that part of Germany which is bounded by the Danube, the Maine, the Neckar and the Rhine, the country of the Griſons, and the diſtrict of Burgundy,

gundy, which comprehends Geneva and the Swiſs Cantons; but the ſons of the emperor rejected the injurious partition with contempt; Pepin and Lewis advanced with the forces of Aquitaine and Bavaria; the royal troops deſerted the imperial ſtandard, and crowded to that of the malecontents; the emperor himſelf became a priſoner in the hands of his children; and on the arrival of Lothaire, to whoſe ſuperior dignity the other brothers reluctantly ſubmitted, the empreſs retired to a monaſtery, and exchanged her diadem for a veil. But the heart of Lothaire was not entirely callous to the impreſſions of filial affection; he dreaded the reproaches of the world, nor could he be indifferent to the menaced cenſures of the church; proſtrate at his father's feet he implored the pardon of his guilt; and the diet which met to depoſe, was moſt eager to confirm the authority of the emperor.

Lewis was no ſooner re-eſtabliſhed on his throne than he recalled his empreſs from religious retirement; and the monaſtic vows of Judith were abſolved by the fickle indulgence of Gregory the Fourth. The implacable enmity of an injured female was not to be conciliated by the tardy repentance of Lothaire; that prince was depoſed from the rank of emperor, and reduced to the title of king of Italy; and the impolitic violence of his ſtep-mother compelled him

A. D. 831.

to

to ſeek his own ſafety in joining the hoſtile preparations of his brothers Pepin and Lewis.

The emperor was ſcarcely informed of the deſigns of his ſons before he encreaſed the general diſcontent, and alienated ſtill more the minds of his ſubjects by revoking his grant of Aquitain to Pepin, and transferring it to Charles, then only nine years of age; while Gregory the Fourth reſtored to Lothaire the imperial dignity, and ſtrengthened by his preſence the arm of the ſon againſt his father. Again deſerted by his people the unhappy monarch was haſtily depoſed by an obſequious aſſembly of the dependants of the confederates; and Lothaire, by the ſame authority, was raiſed to the vacant throne. The empreſs was diſmiſſied to a nunnery at Tortona, and Charles was ſtrictly guarded in a caſtle in the foreſt of Arden. The victorious princes, after ſolemn profeſſions of mutual attachment, ſeparated, and each retired to his reſpective dominions; the pope to Rome, and Pepin and Lewis to Aquitain and Bavaria. A. D. 832.

In the moment of triumph Lothaire had embittered the degradation of his father by an oſtentatious diſplay of ceremony, and inſtead of the purple robe had aſſigned him the humble habit of a penitent. His ſubmiſſive reſignation to the inſults of an unnatural ſon obliterated the guilt of his conduct; the misfortunes A. D. 833.

of their lawful ſovereign excited the pity of the multitude, ever diſcontented with the ruling powers, and the active diligence of his adherents ſoon opened the road for his reſtoration. Dreux, biſhop of Mentz, awakened Lewis of Bavaria to a ſenſe of his intereſt and duty; he armed in the cauſe of a ſovereign and a parent; the nobility of France encouraged by their alacrity his hopes; the Saxons ſwelled the numbers and terror of his hoſt; the aged emperor was reſtored to St. Denys; his ſon Charles was releaſed from priſon; and Lothaire, after a fruitleſs reſiſtance, was compelled to deplore his crime, and throw himſelf on the mercy of his father.

Empire had no charms for the uxorious Lewis, unleſs it was ſhared with the partner of his bed; and Judith was once more recalled, and once more abſolved; yet ever reſtleſs, and unbroken by adverſity, ſhe again reſumed her intrigues for the eſtabliſhment of her ſon, and engaged the fond partiality of her huſband to add the kingdom of Neuſtria to the dominions before intended for him. In a ſolemn aſſembly, and in the preſence of Lewis of Bavaria, Charles was declared king of Neuſtria, and the diſcontent of Lothaire and Pepin died away in ineffectual murmurs; but the death of the latter was productive of a new partition. The claims of his children

A. D. 837.

Pepin

Pepin and Charles were diſregarded, the ſon of Judith was inveſted with the kingdom of Aquitain; and the French dominions of the deceaſed prince were divided between the brothers, Charles and Lothaire, the latter of whom was named as the guardian of his infant nephew.

Lewis of Bavaria, enraged at a diviſion in which his intereſt was neglected, again unfurled the banner of revolt; but the unexpected appearance of the emperor, with the hoſtile preparations of the Saxons, compelled him to ſue for pardon; yet the inſatiate ambition of the empreſs, and the facility of her aged huſband, kept alive the glowing embers of ſedition. The commons of Aquitain vented their diſcontent in ſecret meetings, and the nobles openly remonſtrated againſt the injuſtice which was offered to the ſons of their deceaſed ſovereign. It was in vain that Lewis engaged to provide for his grandchildren; the adherents of the youthful Pepin ſteadily refuſed to deliver him up to the dangerous protection of an abandoned woman; the empire was menaced with reiterated calamities of civil commotion, and the implacable rage of fraternal diſcord was ſuſpended, rather than extinguiſhed, by the death of Lewis le Debonnaire. A. D. 841.

The placid virtues and graceful manners of the emperor but ill compenſated for the miſeries which

were engendered by his feeble adminiſtration; and a prince to whoſe name has been added the epithet of gentle, lived without the regard, and expired without the regret of his ſubjects. His advanced age of ſeventy-two years accounts for his deceaſe, without aſſigning the unnatural conduct of his ſons as the ſource of his immediate diſolution; but it is certain that he ſunk into the grave with a lively reſentment towards the king of Bavaria; and when reminded by the biſhop of Mentz, that it was his duty, as a chriſtian, to forgive, he replied, "I pardon him with all my heart; but "tell him from me, that he ought to think of ſe- "rioufly obtaining pardon from God alſo, for "bringing my grey hairs with ſorrow to the "grave."

The laſt reproof of a dying father was but little regarded by thoſe ſons, for whoſe ambitious views he had already reigned too long. The diviſion of his dominions was diſputed in a field of battle; and after two years of alternate fraud and force, the plains of Fontenoy atteſted the active hatred of the contending rivals. Lothaire, with his nephew Pepin, was forced to relinquiſh the bloody conflict, memorable for the ſlaughter of one hundred thouſand Franks; and the victors Lewis and Charles muſt have contemplated with horror, a carnage which juſtifies the hiſ-

A. D. 842.

torian's

torian's remark, that whole generations may be ſwept away by the madneſs of kings in the ſpace of a ſingle hour. Yet the advantages they obtained from the ſanguinary triumph were far from deciſive: Motives of caprice or intereſt induced each to retire within the circle of his reſpective dominions; and Lothaire having united his ſcattered forces, again preſſed with his ſuperior numbers his brother Charles, who was reſcued from deſtruction only by the return of Lewis. The viciſſitudes of three ſucceſſive years of diſcord exhauſted at length the ſtrength, without impairing the animoſity of the kindred princes, and they conſented to divide thoſe dominions for which they were no longer able to contend. To Lothaire was allotted all Italy, with the ſovereignty of Rome, and the track of country within the rivers the Rhone and the Rhine, the Meuſe and the Scheld. Charles obtained Aqua- A. D. 844.
tain, with the territory between the Loire and the Meuſe; and, with Bavaria, the reſt of Germany was aſſigned to Lewis, who will hereafter be diſtinguiſhed as Lewis the German.

Chapter the Third.

REIGNS OF CHARLES, SURNAMED THE BALD — LEWIS THE STAMMERER — LEWIS AND CARLOMAN — CHARLES THE FAT — EUDES, SON OF ROBERT THE STRONG — CHARLES THE SIMPLE — RODOLPH, DUKE OF BURGUNDY — LEWIS THE FOURTH, SURNAMED THE STRANGER — AND LEWIS THE FIFTH, IN WHOM THE RACE OF CHARLEMAGNE WAS EXTINGUISHED.

BY the late partition of the dominions of Charlemagne, the kingdoms of Germany and France were for ever ſeparated; and from this period it is with diſguſt that the reader muſt turn from the dark annals of the Carlovingian race, who through the diſgraceful ſeries of one hundred and fifty years reigned without virtue or power. The part of Gaul which Lothaire retained, he diſtinguiſhed by his own name; and by the inſenſible corruption of time it has ſunk into that of Lorraine, which

which is ſtill annexed to the diſtrict. But the empire which he had purſued at the expence of every filial duty, which he had eſtabliſhed by the blood of his ſubjects, afforded him but a tranſient ſatisfaction: From the ſummit of grandeur, which he had attained, the proſpect was dreary and comfortleſs; and amidſt the cares of royalty he ſighed for the tranquil ſtation of religious privacy. Fifteen years after the deceaſe of Lewis le Debonnaire, he aſſumed the habit of a monk; and a few days of monaſtic retirement were only allowed to the prayers of the royal penitent. On his retreat from the throne, he aſſigned to his eldeſt ſon, Lewis the Second, the realm of Italy, the proper patrimony of a Roman emperor; to Lothaire, his ſecond ſon, the kingdom with the title of Lorraine; and to Charles, his youngeſt, Provence, Dauphiné, and part of the kingdom of Burgundy. The death of the two laſt princes united the greateſt part of their dominions under Charles the Bald, who may properly be conſidered as king of France; and to his hiſtory we haſten to return.

A. D. 855.

A. D. 869.

The kingdom of Charles had been afflicted by the annual depredations of the Normans; and the retreat of theſe northern rovers was purchaſed at an expence which

A. D. 845, 857.

might have ſupported a vigorous and ſucceſsful war: The Britons alſo had attempted to ſhake off the yoke which they indignantly bore, and twice had triumphed in aſſerting their independence. A third army, led by Charles in perſon, extorted a tardy and reluctant ſubmiſſion; but no ſooner had the repeated incurſions of the Normans recalled Charles, than Lewis, duke of Brittany, violated the recent treaty, ſubdued the neighbouring dioceſe of Rennes, aſſumed the royal title of king, and tranſmitted it to his ſon Heriſpee, who maintained it in a bloody field, which beheld the total defeat of Charles, and eſtabliſhed the claims of the king of Brittany.

A factious people will ever be the conſequence of a weak adminiſtration; and the ſubjects of Charles, inſulted by their foreign enemies and oppreſſed by their own ſovereign, implored the protection of Lewis the German: The ambition of that prince readily liſtened to their diſtreſs; and while Charles was engaged in repelling an invaſion of the Danes, Lewis with a formidable army marched into the heart of France, received the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, and was ſolemnly crowned by the archbiſhop of Sens. But while he too readily liſtened to the deluſive counſels of his courtiers, who repreſented his authority as eſtabliſhed, and prevailed

A. D. 858, 859.

vailed on him to diſmiſs his faithful Germans, his tranſient throne already tottered; his power was undermined; and the approach of Charles compelled him to abdicate a kingdom which he had occupied without a battle, and which he relinquiſhed without a ſtruggle.

The rapacity of the Normans had been invited by the former liberality of Charles the Bald; and during the internal diſſentions of France they had ſeated themſelves on the banks of the Seine and the Somme. Solomon, who had ſeized the throne of Brittany, extended his devaſtations to the gates of Poictiers; the intereſt and honour of Charles called aloud for revenge: At the head of a powerful army he entered the hoſtile country of the Britons; but the ſuperior number of his forces only aggravated his diſgrace; and in a battle, which was maintained with perſevering valour during two ſucceſſive days, he was totally defeated. The victory was chiefly aſcribed to the ſkill and courage of Robert le Fort, or Strong, who commanded the army of Britons; and the vanquiſhed monarch, ſenſible of his merits, allured him to his ſervice by the government and ducal title of the Duchy of France, which comprehended the country between the Seine and the Loire. A. D. 860.

The policy of Charles divided the ſtrength of the

A. D. 860, 869. the Normans; and the ſword of the pirates of the Somme was unſheathed againſt thoſe of the Seine. The abilities of Robert contributed to prop the tottering throne of France; but that gallant chief unfortunately fell in the moment of victory, as he bravely repelled an invaſion of the Danes; and his loſs was ſcarcely compenſated by the ſubſequent death of Lothaire, the king of Lorraine, which added to the crown of France the dioceſes or cities of Lyons, Beſançon, Vienne, Toul, Verdun, Cambray, Viviers, and Urez; together with Hainault, Zealand, and Holland. The remainder of the territories of Lothaire, Cologne, Utrecht, Straſburgh, Treves, Mentz, &c. was allotted to Lewis the German.

The incurſions of the Normans ſtill afflicted the kingdom of France; Solomon, king of Brittany, was perſuaded to join his forces to thoſe of Charles, and concur in expelling the formidable invaders. The principal leaders of theſe daring adventurers were beſieged in Angiers; and after being reduced to the laſt extremity, ſubmitted to purchaſe their retreat and ranſom their ſhips,

A. D. 873. by ſurrendering the ſpoil they had acquired. Solomon himſelf enjoyed the important triumph over the pirates of Scandinavia but a ſhort time; and his life was the victim of a

conſpiracy

conſpiracy of his own ſubjects, whoſe happineſs he had promoted in the council and the field. A. D. 874. From the internal diſſentions of Brittany, the eyes of Charles were turned to a more conſiderable object; and the death of Lewis the Second, emperor of the Romans, was ſcarce announced, before the French king, with a well-appointed army, appeared in Italy: His activity anticipated the deſigns of his brother Lewis, the German; he was received at Rome with the applauſe of the inhabitants; and the Roman pontiff placed the imperial crown on his head, and ſaluted him emperor of the Romans. A. D. 875.

It was with indignation that Lewis beheld himſelf the dupe of his perfidious brother; he reſented in arms the ſhameleſs breach of faith, entered Champagne, and diſcharged his fury on the defenceleſs country: Though he retired at the approach of Charles, he only ſuſpended his hoſtile meaſures; his preparations were continued with inceſſant diligence; and the new emperor had reaſon to rejoice in the death of the king of Germany, who united in his character the qualities of a ſtateſman and a general, and who of all the deſcendants of Charlemagne, moſt reſembled him. His dominions were divided between his three ſons: To Carloman he aſ- A. D. 876.

ſigned

ſigned Bavaria, Bohemia, Carinthia, Sclavonia, Auſtria, and part of Hungary; to Lewis, Franconia, Saxony, Thuringia, the lower Lorraine, together with Cologne and the cities of the Rhine; to Charles was left the country between the Maine and the Alps. The news of his brother's deceaſe no ſooner reached the emperor Charles, than his reſtleſs ambition prompted him to deſpoil his nephew Lewis; at the head of fifty thouſand men he advanced to ſeize that part which formerly had belonged to Lorraine: In the neighbourhood of Cologne he was encountered by his nephew, with inferior numbers, with equal courage and ſuperior ſkill; the army of the Franks was broken by the charge of the German cavalry, and Charles himſelf was glad to eſcape from the fatal carnage of his devoted ſubjects: He had ſcarce united his ſcattered forces before he was confounded with the intelligence that the Normans had entered the Seine, laid waſte the adjacent country, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of Rouen.

A rapid ſucceſſion of mortifications overwhelmed the fortitude of Charles: The pangs of his mind were communicated to his body; and the ambition which could not be contained within the limits of an extenſive empire was for ſome months confined to the narrow ſpace of a bed. From this ſcene of repoſe, fainting beneath the effects

of

of diſeaſe, he was ſummoned by the importunities of the Roman pontiff, who claimed from the imperial purple the protection of Italy: That country was ſtill expoſed to the deſultory attacks of the infidels; the continual A. D. 876. deſcents of the Saracens were encouraged by the intrigues of the duke of Beneventum, and the emperor of the Greeks; and the banners of Mahomet daily inſulted the holy ſeat of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter. The exhauſted frame of Charles the Bald might well excuſe him from new labours; and ſome praiſe muſt be granted to that vigour which could rouſe him from the couch of ſickneſs to reſume the weight of armour. With a ſmall train of followers he paſſed the Alps; but he had ſcarce entered Pavia, to which city the Roman pontiff had advanced to confer with him, when he was informed that Carloman, the king of Bavaria, was already in Italy with a numerous army, and claimed by the will of his father the imperial title. The forces of Charles were ſtill in France; the generals, to whoſe fidelity he had entruſted them, conſpired againſt him; and the ſoldiers, in tumultuary exclamations, declared their reſolution not to paſs the Alps: The indignant emperor, aſtoniſhed and deſerted, retired to France, at the ſame moment that his competitor, Carloman, alarmed at the rumour of his approach, had precipitately re-entered his German dominions.

The

The grandſon of Charlemagne had eſcaped the ſword of his open enemies, to periſh by the practice of domeſtic treaſon: His retreat from Italy had been attended with a return of his indiſpoſition; but the favourable ſymptoms of his diſeaſe were extinguiſhed by the treachery of his phyſician. Sedecias, by birth a Jew, poſſeſſed and betrayed the confidence of the monarch; the deadly poiſon arreſted the unfortunate prince in his paſſage over Mount Cenis; in a miſerable village, and in a more miſerable cottage, the emperor of the Romans breathed his laſt, in the fifty-fourth year of his age; thirty-eight years from his aſcending the throne of France, and only two from his attaining the imperial dignity.

A. D. 877.

The ambition of Charles the Bald had continually diſturbed the repoſe of his ſubjects with the ſound of war; the feeble counſels of his ſon and ſucceſſor Lewis, ſurnamed, from an imperfection in his ſpeech, The Stammerer, expoſed the kingdom to the fatal conſequences of a weak and divided adminiſtration. To ſecure the attachment of the nobles, he profuſely laviſhed the honours and eſtates of the crown; and the power of the ſovereign was, during his improvident reign, reduced to an empty ſhadow. The diſcontented chiefs were ſtrengthened by the influence of Richilde, the widow of the

A. D. 878.

the late emperor, and the ſtep-mother of Lewis, who ſurrendered with reluctance the enſigns of royalty, entruſted to her by her huſband, into the hands of the ſon of Hermantrude. The monarch received the crown and was anointed with the holy oil by Hincmar, archbiſhop of Rheims; and the pope, John the Eighth, who had impatiently expected the aid of Charles to repreſs the inſolence of the Saracens, endeavoured in vain to raiſe his ſon to the imperial dignity; his meaſures were ſucceſsfully traverſed by Lambert duke of Spoleto, and Adelbert, marquis of Tuſcany: The former, reſigning his own pretenſions, ſupported thoſe of Carloman of Bavaria; and the Roman pontiff, incapable of reſiſting the arms of the duke of Spoleto, abandoned Rome, and embarked for the friendly coaſt of France.

The reception of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter was ſuch as he might naturally expect from a monarch whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed with ardour. In a council aſſembled at Troyes, the Roman pontiff preſided, and the authority and influence of the Church was not neglected by its holy Father: Among the various canons framed to ſupport the epiſcopal dignity, it was ordained, that all ſecular powers, under the penalty of excommunication, ſhould obſerve the reſpect due to biſhops; and all perſons, however high their rank, were precluded

from

from ſitting down in their preſence without obtaining their permiſſion. But although the pope repeated, at the deſire of Lewis, the ceremony of his coronation, and placed with his own hands the crown on his head, yet his fervour ſoon cooled towards a prince whom he diſcovered to be deſtitute of power and capacity; and his intereſts inclined him to ſeek a more effectual ſupport in the friendſhip of the factious and independent nobles of his court. The thunders of the vatican, which he brandiſhed againſt the rebellious peers of France, were rather intended to deceive the ſovereign than diſmay the conſpirators; and John, after having in vain exhorted the nation to reſpect the diſtreſs of Rome and to unſheath the ſword againſt the preſumptuous Saracens, proceeded on his return to Italy.

Bernard, marquis of Languedoc, had already erected the ſtandard of revolt; and equally indifferent to the temporal menaces of the king and the ſpiritual cenſures of the church, maintained an haughty and ſullen independence. As the monarch advanced at the head of a royal army, to chaſtiſe the diſobedience and inſolence of his ſubjects, he was ſeized at Troyes with a diſorder which ſoon proclaimed his approaching diſſolution: Senſible of his danger, he deſired that his ſword and crown might be delivered to his ſon Lewis;

Lewis; and after a feeble reign of about eighteen months, he ſunk into the grave, and was preſerved by death from beholding the impending calamities of his country. A. D. 877.

France, on the deceaſe of her ſovereign, was abandoned to a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion: Lewis and Carloman, the iſſue of his firſt marriage, were oppreſſed by a factious nobility; and Adelaide, his ſecond wife, was pregnant of a ſon, ſoon after baptiſed by the name of Charles, and diſtinguiſhed by the opprobious epithet of *Simple*. Of the nobles who, as intereſt dictated or caprice ſuggeſted, propped or aſſailed the throne of their prince, the firſt place was due to the rank and connections of duke Boſon: His ſpirit, naturally haughty, was inflated by his marriage with the daughter of Lewis the Second; his boundleſs ambition had already attained whatever a ſubject could poſſeſs, high rank, important governments, and a royal alliance: But theſe acquiſitions ſerved only to augment his avidity; and the crown itſelf appeared not too great for his merits, or too high for his pretenſions. The ſurname of Hugo, *the Abbot*, proclaims his early intention to have dedicated his ſervices to the church; but, bold and aſpiring, he ſoon embraced the more enterpriſing profeſſion of arms, and relinquiſhed the mitre and the croſs for the helmet and the ſword. To his

valour and abilities was entrusted the government of the country between the Seine and the Loire; and the rovers of the north found in Hugo an antagonist who left them little reason to exult in the death of Robert the Strong. Thierri had, in the reign of the late king, been promoted to the post of chamberlain; and the favours he had received ought inviolably to have attached him to the family of his benefactor. Bernard, count of Auvergne, had been appointed by Charles the Bald, with Boson and Hugo, to command the troops destined for the Italian expedition; and was, with those nobles, suspected of having conspired against the life of the king. Such were the four Chiefs to whose protection Lewis had bequeathed the inexperienced youth of his sons; and their influence was opposed by the policy of Abbé Goslin, who had been the principal minister of Charles the Bald; by the name of Conrad, count of Paris; and a long list of nobles averse to tranquil obedience and enamoured of sedition.

The designs of Goslin were veiled by an apparent concern for the prosperity of France, and an ardent zeal for the family of Charlemagne. Both of these were united in setting aside the children of Lewis the Stammerer, and inviting the mature age of Lewis of Germany to ascend the throne of France:

France: That monarch readily liſtened to the flattering propoſal; and while the guardians of the young princes, aſſembled at Meaux, diſputed with each other the ſpoils of the crown, they were alarmed by the intelligence that a royal army of Germans was rapidly advancing to the frontiers of the kingdom. Abject deſpair ſucceeded to ill-grounded confidence; and a diſgraceful acquieſcence in the claims of the invader was only averted by the ſteady and prudent counſels of Hugo. The impending danger and diſtreſs ſanctioned the ſacrifice; and he conſented to purchaſe the retreat of Lewis by the ceſſion of that part of Lorraine which had been allotted to Charles the Bald. The offer was accepted; the king of Germany, with a conſiderable territory in the Low Countries, acquired Toul, Metz, and Verdun; and the abbé Goſlin, with his aſſociates, might indulge their ineffectual reſentment in reproaching the perfidy of their ally.

Carloman, the ſecond of the ſons of Lewis, had eſpouſed the daughter of duke Boſon; and that powerful noble prevailed on the aſſembly held at Meaux to diſregard the laſt inſtructions of their deceaſed monarch, and aſſociate with his elder brother Lewis, Carloman to the royal power. The two princes were crowned amidſt the acclamations of the people, who A. D. 879, 882.

had long demanded with impatience the authority of a ſovereign: But the deſigns of Boſon extended not alone to the elevation of his daughter, his ambition prompted him to aim at a ſolid eſtabliſhment, and to ſecure his fortune beyond the frown of kings. In a long adminiſtration of the ſouthern provinces of France he had redreſſed the grievances of the people, ſoothed the haughty ſpirit of the clergy, and attached to his intereſt a proud and factious nobility: His ready attentions had conciliated the favour of the pope, who wiſhed to diſplay his gratitude by contributing to the completion of his aſpiring hopes. Three archbiſhops, twenty biſhops, and a number of counts, aſſembled at Mante, deliberated on the melancholy ſtate of their country: The expedient they propoſed was to erect a new kingdom; and an inſtrument, ſubſcribed by the aſſembly, offered Provence to the abſolute rule of Boſon. The propoſal was graciouſly received and readily accepted; and the brows of Boſon were at length encircled with a royal diadem. The countries which compoſed this new principality, and which from the ſeat of government has been denominated Arles, were Provence, Lyonnois, Dauphiné, Savoy, Franche Comté, and part of the kingdom of Burgundy, extending on one ſide into Languedoc, and on the other beyond the Lake of Geneva.

neva. Thus the ſons of Lewis beheld themſelves with indignation deſpoiled of the faireſt part of their inheritance by the ſword of a powerful neighbour, and the intrigues of a faithleſs kinſman.

Their throne indeed was ſhaken on every ſide, and the very foundation would poſſibly have been ſubverted, had it not been ſupported by the fidelity and abilities of Hugo the abbot. The ſplendid promiſes of Goſlin had prevailed on Lewis of Germany to violate the recent treaty, and again aſpire to the crown of France: But the inclinations of the malecontents were overawed by the prudent diſpoſitions of Hugo; the Germans in vain penetrated into the heart of France; and the hopes of Lewis were chilled by the languid operations of his partizans. He conſented to an interview with his youthful rivals; and a ſubſequent congreſs at Gondreville on the Meuſe, at which all the deſcendants of Charlemagne were preſent, ratified the ſucceſſion of Lewis and Carloman, and confirmed the poſſeſſion of Lorraine to the king of Germany.

The royal brothers, delivered from the terror of foreign invaſion, prepared to chaſtiſe the inſolence of domeſtic rebellion; ſtrengthened by their new alliances, they marched with a numerous army through Burgundy, and entered the revolted territories of their preſumptuous vaſſal. The con-

federate forces, aſſiſted by thoſe of Charles, king of Italy, formed the ſiege of Vienne, defended with maſculine valour by Hermingard the conſort of Boſon. But the princes were ſoon compelled to ſeparate; and while the continuance of the ſiege was devolved on Carloman, Charles returned to Rome to receive the imperial crown, and Lewis, with a conſiderable detachment, directed his march againſt the Normans.

Theſe hardy adventurers, diſdaining the ſeverity of winter, had in the month of December ſurpriſed the city of Tournay, and ſpread their devaſtations along the banks of the Scheld. At Saucour in Picardy the rovers of the north were encountered by the maiden valour of Lewis; nine thouſand Normans, with their leader Guaramond, expired on the field of battle; the remainder repaſſed the Somme, and conſulted their ſafety by a haſty retreat: But the inactivity of the conqueror betrays his own loſs; and the prudence of Lewis reſpected the deſpair of a valiant though vanquiſhed enemy. The victory of Saucour had diſplayed the courage, and the death of Lewis of Germany proclaimed the moderation, of the youthful king of France; he rejected with firmneſs the crown proffered by the inhabitants of Lorraine, and yielded to the ſuperior pretenſions of the emperor, Charles the Fat. But the French

were

were ſuffered only a ſhort time to contemplate the riſing virtues of their prince: While, at the invitation of the duke of Brittany, he indulged in the hope of erecting freſh trophies over the indefatigable Normans, he had ſcarce advanced as far as Tours before diſeaſe compelled him to renounce the generous enterpriſe; he returned to expire at St. Denys in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, and his premature death is ſtrongly marked with the ſuſpicion of poiſon; a ſuſpicion countenanced by the turbulent temper of the nobles, jealous of an active and virtuous reign.

Carloman was ſtill before Vienne when he received the unexpected intelligence of the death of his brother, and his own ſucceſſion to the undivided crown of France. A. D. 882, 884. He left the blockade of that place to his principal officers; and at the head of the army aſſembled by the deceaſed prince, moved towards the Meuſe to repel the robbers of the north: Theſe retired at the approach of the monarch, but their return ſoon ſummoned him again to arms; and his double triumph over the rapacious invaders was more honourable to himſelf than ſerviceable to his country. His proſpect of victory was blaſted by the breath of peſtilence and the intractable ſpirit of his own ſubjects; he was compelled to ſheath the ſword, and by a laviſh donative obtain a ſhort

and precarious truce. The diſappointment was but ill compenſated by the capitulation of Vienne, which permitted Hermingard to retire to her conſort at Autun; and while Carloman endeavoured to diſſipate his chagrin by the exerciſes of the chace, an erring javelin, aimed at the boar by one of his attendants, pierced his thigh, and in a few days deprived him of his crown and life; yet his laſt moments intereſt us in his premature fate, and we drop a tear of pity over the pious deceit of a prince, who endeavoured to ſcreen from the miſtaken reſentment of the public his unfortunate domeſtic, by imputing his wound to the rage of the animal he purſued.

The activity of Charles the Bald and his grandſon Lewis had awakened the fatal jealouſy of their aſpiring nobles; and it was natural to ſuppoſe the principal lords would have readily concurred in raiſing to the throne the infant weakneſs of Charles the Simple, the ſon of Lewis the Stammerer by his queen Adelaide: Yet Hugo, the abbot, in vain zealouſly eſpouſed the cauſe of that young prince; and Charles, ſurnamed the Fat, the emperor of the Romans, was invited to aſcend the throne of France.

A new invaſion of the Normans, perhaps, determined the French to place the ſceptre in the hands of a powerful branch of the Carlovingian race; and the dominions of Charles

A. D. 884. 888.

Charles promiſed an effectual ſuccour, while his limited capacity removed any apprehenſions they might entertain from his increaſe of territory. Godfrey, king of the Normans, had been aſſaſſinated at a treacherous interview; and to avenge his death a hoſtile fleet of ſeven hundred ſail entered the Seine, and ſpread their devaſtations as far as Paris. But the capital was defended by the prudence of Goſlin, its biſhop, and the valour of Eudes, the ſon of Robert the Strong. In three attacks, the Normans were repulſed with obſtinate courage and cruel ſlaughter; their rage was vented againſt the defenceleſs inhabitants of the adjacent country; and in a fourth and general aſſault they endeavoured to efface their ſhame: But their deſpair was ineffectual, and their defeat bloody; in the moment as they retired with a ſigh of deſpondence, the gates were thrown open; a daring band ſallied from the city, and ſpread terror and deſtruction through the ranks of the beſiegers. The walls however of Paris were already ſhaken; to open violence ſucceeded ſecret ſtratagem, and the ſlow but more certain attacks of famine: A cloſe blockade ſeemed to preclude all ſuccour, when the fainting ſpirits of the Pariſians were raiſed by the appearance of Charles, who, with an army collected from Germany, preſſed forwards to the relief, and encamped within ſight,

of

of his capital. Yet Sigefroy, the Norman leader, beheld the hoſtile ſtandards with an undaunted countenance, and ſtedfaſtly maintained his ſtation before the gates of the city. The emperor was awed by the firmneſs of an enemy whom he might have overwhelmed; he baſely conſented to purchaſe a peace which he might have commanded; and he ſacrificed to a moment of doubtful tranquillity the fame which he had acquired by his former conduct and courage: As his treaſures were inadequate to the ſum ſtipulated, part of Burgundy was abandoned to the avarice of the Normans; and the labours they had endured was repaid by the ſpoils, and drowned in the luſcious wines of the proſtrate province.

The piety of Goſlin could not ſupport him under the accumulated preſſure of fatigue of body and anxiety of mind, and he expired while yet the city was afflicted by the deſolating rage of the Normans; Eudes, his companion in toil and glory, ſurvived to receive the applauſe of his country and the reward of a grateful ſovereign. The death of Hugo, the abbot, had deprived both Charles and his ſubjects of a faithful miniſter and a ſteady patriot; and his title of count of Paris was with general approbation beſtowed upon Eudes, whoſe gallantry borrowed additional luſtre from the ignominious conduct of the emperor.

The

The health and reputation of that prince rapidly declined; his faculties were viſibly impaired; he had ſcarce returned into Germany before he diſplayed manifeſt ſymptoms of a diſtempered imagination; and in a diet which was held at Oppenheim he was declared by the nobles of France and Germany incapable of ſupporting the weight of royalty.

In Italy he had long poſſeſſed only the empty name of ſovereign; and the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua rejected his authority, and aſſerted their independence. The crown of Germany was conferred by the free voice of the nobles on Arnold, natural ſon of Carloman, king of Bavaria, and who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an able and active general on the frontiers of Pannonia: The unhappy Charles was reduced to beg his bread from the ſucceſsful rebel, by whoſe contempt his life and liberty were ſpared. So headlong was his fall from greatneſs, ſo diligent was the revolt of his ſubjects, that in three days he was left without a ſervant to adminiſter to his infirmities! The compaſſion of the biſhop of Mentz relieved his immediate neceſſities; and a ſcanty and tardy ſupply from the frigid pity of Arnold, enabled him to linger through a few months of diſeaſe and diſtreſs. 14 Jan. A. D. 888.

The

The moſt plauſible and powerful pretenders to the vacant throne of France were Guy duke of Spoleto, and Berenger duke of Frioul, both equally deſcended from Charlemagne; Herbert, count of Vermandois, who claimed from Bernard king of Italy; Arnold, king of Germany; and Charles, ſurnamed The Simple, the poſthumous ſon of Lewis the Stammerer by his ſecond wife Adelaide: But his feeble years were incapable of wielding the ſceptre of a tottering empire; and the exigencies of the ſtate called aloud for the virtues of a ſoldier and a ſtateſman. Eudes was encircled with recent laurels from the important defence of Paris; and the popular opinion named him for the ſovereign of France. But the virtuous patriot refuſed to trample on the laws of ſucceſſion, or to plunge his country in the calamities of civil war; he declared that he would hold the crown only as the faithful guardian of the infant Charles; and that the formidable competition of Arnold muſt be averted by the ſanction of his free conſent. The king of Germany was vanquiſhed by the generous ſcruples of his rival; and the name of Eudes is inſcribed among the monarchs of France.

The ſhort reign of Eudes was diligently devo-
A. D. 888. 898. ted to repreſs the inſolence of the nobility, and to humble the foreign and domeſtic enemies of the ſtate. At the head of one thouſand

thouſand horſe he diſperſed an army of twenty thouſand Normans; and the victory of Montfaucon might have been improved to deciſive advantage, had not Eudes been recalled from the purſuit by the revolt of Aquitain. His preſence reſtored the allegiance of that province; but the Normans had ſeized the favourable opportunity: Their banners were diſplayed on the walls of Meaux, Toul, and Verdun; and Paris itſelf was again inſulted by the licentious arms of the northern rovers. Their deſtructive incurſions into Lorraine were chaſtiſed by the arm of the king of Germany; but in France a ſcene of anarchy and diſcord preſented itſelf on every ſide; the nobles of each province diſobeyed their ſovereign, oppreſſed their vaſſals, and exerciſed perpetual hoſtilities againſt their equals and neighbours.

The diſorders of the times were the misfortune and glory of Eudes; and his vigour was exerted to reſtrain the ambition of the chiefs, and re-eſtabliſh the regal authority. Count Walgaire had availed himſelf of the general diſtraction, and ſeized the important city of Laon: The puniſhment of his preſumption was inſtant and ſignal; before he could ſufficiently fortify the object of his uſurpation, he was ſurpriſed by the unexpected appearance of the French king. The rebellious garriſon was compelled to ſurrender, and the life

life of Walgaire atoned for his guilt; the factious chiefs beheld in the chaſtiſement of that noble, their own fate. Aquitain once more erected the ſtandard of revolt; the king of Germany encouraged the growing diſcontent; Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Philip count of Senlis, embraced the cauſe of the empreſs Adelaide and her youthful ſon. The feeble prince was conducted to Rheims, and crowned by Fougues, the archbiſhop of that city: The army of the confederates advanced to the gates of Paris, but the fears of the capital were diſſipated by the approach of Eudes; the forces of Charles inſenſibly melted away before the preſence of the hero; the king of Germany was reconciled by the ſincerity of his declarations; and Eudes himſelf ſoon after extinguiſhed the torch of diſcord by acknowledging the ſovereignty of Charles the Simple, and only retaining, under an oath of homage and fidelity, the country from the Seine to the Pyrenees. Eudes ſurvived to enjoy but a ſhort time the tranquillity eſtabliſhed by his own moderation; in the month of January ſubſequent to his abdication, he expired at La Fere in Picardy, in the fortieth year of his age; eſteemed by the Normans whom he had vanquiſhed, beloved by the people whom he had protected, and hated yet dreaded by the nobility, whoſe oppreſſions he had firmly oppoſed.

His

His infant ſon, Arnold, ſucceeded to his principality, with the title of king; but his death in a few days after united France under the ſole authority of Charles the Simple.

But that extenſive kingdom had mouldered away in the feeble hands of the Carlovingian race; Lorraine was ſolemnly ceded to the king of Germany; duke Rodolfe had, in the reign of Charles the Fat, erected the diſtrict of Burgundy, beyond Mount Jura, into a kingdom, and ſtretched his ſway over the greateſt part of Franche Comté; Lewis, the ſon of Boſon, maintained an haughty independence in Arles; and though Charles might nominally reign over the remnant of his diſmembered dominions, yet his real power was oppoſed by the formidable pretenſions of Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Robert, the brother of Eudes. The wiſe counſels of Fougues, the archbiſhop of Rheims, might have preſerved the unfortunate monarch from the calamities which menaced him, but that prelate was aſſaſſinated by Baldwin, earl of Flanders; and the indifference with which Charles received the fate of a faithful ſervant, who firſt placed the crown on his head, leſſened the zeal of his adherents and encouraged the daring deſigns of his enemies. A. D. 898. 923.

Rollo, whoſe noble deſcent and perſonal qualifications raiſed him above the crowd of northern adven-

adventurers, had entered the Seine and poſſeſſed himſelf of the city of Rouen. The diſtreſs of Charles, and the influence of Robert the brother of Eudes, who had cultivated the friendſhip of the Norman, firſt ſuggeſted the propriety of a treaty with Rollo: The kingdom of Neuſtria, with the county of Brittany, was offered to the gallant invader; and the conditions that he ſhould become a chriſtian, eſpouſe the daughter of Charles, and do homage for his principality, were accepted by the Norman chief: He was purified in the waters of baptiſm, and received from the brother of Eudes, his friend and ſponſor, the chriſtian name of Robert. Though ſixty winters might have impaired his vigour, he conſented to divide his bed with a royal princeſs who ſcarcely had entered her fourteenth year; but in the ceremony of inveſtiture, he rejected with diſdain the ſervile indignity of proſtrating himſelf before, and kiſſing the feet of his ſovereign: After ineffectual efforts to ſubdue his inflexible ſpirit, one of his guards was accepted as his ſubſtitute; and the rude Norman, unpractiſed in the arts of courts, toſſed the kingly foot with ſo much violence as nearly to overturn the chair and to endanger the neck of Charles.

The principality of Robert aſſumed the title of the Duchy of Normandy; and the robbers of the north

north acquieſced in the counſels of peace and moderation, and were inſtructed by their duke to prefer the produce of a fruitful ſoil to the ſpoils of piratical adventure. Charles in the ſame year received ſome compenſation for the dominions he had diveſted himſelf of by the death of Lewis the king of Germany. With that prince expired the male line of Charlemagne in Germany; and the vacant throne was, by the free voice of the nobility, filled with Conrad duke of Franconia; but Lorrain refuſed to acquieſce in the injurious election, and in Charles ſought the protection, and acknowledged the authority, of the laſt prince of the Carlovingian race.

The ſubjects of the French monarch ſoon diſcovered, that the weakneſs of Charles, under the name of a favourite, required a maſter; and the obſequious arts of Haganon, a private gentleman, without birth and without fortune, gained the confidence of the king: The cares of empire were devolved on, and the hours of the prince were devoted to, this new minion of fortune; and it was obſerved by Henry, duke of Saxony, one of the ableſt princes of the age, and whoſe requeſt of an audience had been continually evaded by the anſwer, that the king was engaged with Haganon, "Either Haganon will ſeat himſelf on the "ſame throne with Charles, or Charles will be-

" come a private gentleman like Haganon." Yet the favourite, however unpopular, cannot be denied the praiſe of penetration and fidelity; but the times were adverſe to the adminiſtration he had aſſumed; and the two Roberts, dukes of Normandy and France, overſhadowed with united influence the power of the crown. Their formidable confederacy compelled the king to diſmiſs his miniſter; and their ambition, nouriſhed by ſucceſs, ſoon revealed the pretenſions of Robert to a throne which had been occupied by his brother Eudes. The recall of Haganon was the ſignal of war; Robert was ſolemnly crowned at Rheims; and with the forces of the conſpirators encamped under the walls of Soiſſons. While in oſtentatious ſecurity he enjoyed the pleaſures of the table, he was ſurpriſed by the appearance of Charles at the head of a few faithful followers: With undaunted courage he mounted his horſe, and endeavoured to reſtore order to his troops; but in the tumult of the conflict he received a mortal wound from the ſpear of his rival, and was diſpatched by his ſurrounding enemies. Yet his ſon Hugo, and Herbert, count of Vermandois, maintained the battle with more ſucceſsful valour; and Charles, after having enjoyed the triumph of revenge, was in his turn compelled to retreat before ſuperior numbers, with the loſs of his baggage and the braveſt of his companions.

15th June, A. D. 923.

The

The confederates proceeded immediately to elect a new king; the principal competitors were, Hugo, duke of France, and ſon of the deceaſed Robert; Herbert, count of Vermandois; and Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, who had eſpouſed Emma the ſiſter of Hugo. The laſt was by the influence of his wife, crowned at Soiſſons; and Charles, deſerted by his ſubjects, endeavoured to arm in his ſupport, by the offer of Lorrain, Henry, king of Germany: That monarch was not deaf to his own intereſt and the intreaties of his royal ſuppliant; the inclinations of William, duke of Normandy, who had ſucceeded his father Rollo, leaned to the ſame ſide; and the danger of Rodolph was only averted by the treachery of Herbert, count of Vermandois. That nobleman, dreading the reſtoration of a monarch, whom he had injured too much to forgive, pretended to deſert the cauſe of the new king, and offered, by his deputies, to erect once more the ſtandard of loyalty. Charles, confiding in his promiſes, marched into the county of Vermandois, with the faithful few who ſtill followed his broken fortunes, and was ſeized by the perfidious count, and impriſoned in the fortreſs of Chateau Thierri; his queen, Egiva, eſcaped with her ſon Lewis to the court of her brother Athelſtan, king of England; and Rodolph, releaſed

A. D. 923. 13th July.

from his apprehenſions, turned his arms againſt William, duke of Aquitain.

That prince was compelled to purchaſe his pardon by a ready ſubmiſſion, and the ſervile condition of homage; but this gleam of proſperity was ſoon darkened by ſurrounding clouds of adverſity. The rovers of the north renewed their depredations; the Normans of France broke forth into open hoſtilities; the fickle nobles of Lorrain ſhook off their allegiance, and claimed the protection of Henry, king of Germany; and the black ſwarm of Hungarians, emerging from the heart of Tartary, afflicted the defenceleſs frontier with the hand of violence and rapine. The throne of Rodolph might have ſtood ſecure againſt the foreign enemies of the ſtate; it was ſhaken to its foundation by a formidable conſpiracy of domeſtic foes. His late aſſociates became his moſt dangerous adverſaries; Herbert, count of Vermandois, had claimed, as the reward of his perfidy, and was refuſed, the city of Laon; his diſcontent was communicated to Hugh, duke of France, who had lately married Ethelinda, the daughter of Edward, king of England, and the ſiſter of Charles's conſort: In conjunction with William, duke of Normandy, they determined to reſtore the captive Charles to the throne; and Henry, king of Germany, and pope John the ninth,

ninth, confirmed his growing hopes by the promiſe of temporal and ſpiritual ſupport.

The power of Rodolph ſeemed unable to withſtand, yet his genius and policy diſperſed, the riſing ſtorm; the death of the Roman pontiff delivered him from the menaces of the church; the zeal of Henry was diſarmed by the arts of flattery; Herbert was gratified by the acquiſition of Laon, and drew along with him Hugh, duke of France; Egiva, once more, by the advice of the duke of Normandy, retired to England; and Charles was ſurrendered by the count of Vermandois into the cuſtody of Rodolph. He was received with reſpect, and the royal fetters were rendered leſs cumberſome by the liberality of the hand which impoſed them; yet Charles ſurvived not long this ſecond revolution; in the fifty- A. D. 929.
firſt year of his age, at the caſtle of Oct. 9th.
Peronne, he was releaſed by death from a life of diſappointment; and if his feeble character cannot command our eſteem, the ſplendid miſery to which he was invariably allotted, excites, at leaſt, our compaſſion.

The remaining years of the reign of Rodolph preſent a glorious, but ineffectual ſtruggle with the difficulties of his ſituation; his ſucceſsful conflicts with, and the laurels which he acquired from, the Normans of the Loire, and the ſavage

Hungarians, could not reſtore the internal vigour of France, deeply wounded by the rage of civil commotion. The friendſhip of Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Hugo, duke of France, was ſoon converted into implacable hatred; the ſwords of their adherents were unſheathed in this private quarrel; and the latter, who was ſecretly ſupported by Rodolph, diſpoſſeſſed the former of Eu, Amiens, Ham, Arras, and Rheims, and at length beſieged him in the city of Laon. Yet Herbert, though unfortunate, had maintained amidſt defeat the character of a great captain and a conſummate ſtateſman; and jealouſy of the growing power of Hugo induced the king to extend to the count of Vermandois the clemency he implored; the duke of France reluctantly reſtored the towns he had taken, and the homage of Herbert was accepted by Rodolph. That monarch was allowed to enjoy but a ſhort time the tranquillity he had eſtabliſhed; A. D. 936. Jan. 15th. in the fourteenth year of his reign he expired at Auxerre, and his death revived thoſe pretenſions which his courage and activity had cruſhed.

The duchy of Burgundy devolved on the brother of Rodolph, Hugo, ſurnamed the *Black*; but the moſt powerful claimant to the French crown was Hugo, duke of France: His deſigns were traverſed by his rival, Herbert, count of Vermandois; and

their

their contention allowed Athelſtan, king of England, to plead the cauſe of his nephew, the ſon of Charles the Simple. The duke of France was readily perſuaded by William of Normandy to ſtifle his ambitious hopes, and to concur in placing on the throne, a prince with whom by marriage he was ſo nearly connected. William, archbiſhop of Sens, was deputed to England to invite Lewis, ſurnamed *D'Outre-mer*, *beyond the Sea*, or *Stranger*; and the young prince, landing at Boulogne, proceeded to Laon, and was crowned in A. D. 936. June 20th. that city by Artaud, archbiſhop of Rheims.

The firſt meaſures of Lewis, who A. D. 936, 942. was but juſt entered into the ſeventeenth year of his age, promiſed to maintain the internal tranquillity of his kingdom: To diſcharge his obligations to Hugo, and to ſecure the fidelity of that powerful nobleman, he appointed him miniſter, and committed to his hands the reins of government. The duke of Burgundy had preſumed on an infant reign, to violate the ſanctity of the peace, and to ſeize the city of Langres; the inſult was reſented by the duke of France; at the head of a powerful army he penetrated into Burgundy, and compelled the brother of Rodolph to purchaſe an ignominious peace by the ceſſion of great part of that fruitful duchy. So vigorous a

conduct inſpired the French with the moſt pleaſing expectations; but the flattering proſpect was ſoon overcaſt, and the mind of the king appeared to be impreſſed with a deep and fatal ſuſpicion of his miniſter. The duke of France perceived himſelf eſtranged from the confidence of his maſter, and retired from an ungrateful court to cultivate the returning friendſhip of the count of Vermandois: That nobleman ſurpriſed the city of Laon; and the king, ſenſible of his weakneſs, once more affected to commit himſelf to the counſels of Hugo, duke of France. Yet, amidſt the marks of external regard, he only waited a favourable opportunity to break the chains of his powerful ſubject; he recalled his mother Egiva, and allured to his ſide, Hugo, duke of Burgundy, Artaud, archbiſhop of Rheims, and the count of Poictiers. The duke of France was ſupported by William, duke of Normandy; Arnold, count of Flanders; and Herbert, count of Vermandois. Rheims ſurrendered, and Laon was inveſted by the army of the confederates; and Charles, having ſuſtained a deciſive defeat, in the vain hope of relieving that city, conſented to a peace, which was negociated under the holy mediation of pope Stephen the eighth.

A. D. 942, 945. The death of William, duke of Normandy, who was aſſaſſinated at the inſtigation

ſtigation of the count of Flanders, and of Herbert, count of Vermandois, changed the appearance of public affairs; the ſon of Herbert was protected by the honourable friendſhip of Hugo; but Richard, the ſucceſſor of William, was an infant, whoſe feeble age and extenſive dominions promiſed an eaſy and wealthy conqueſt. The neutrality of the duke of France was purchaſed by the ceſſion of part of Burgundy; and Lewis entering into Normandy, was received at Rouen with every mark of reſpect by Bernard the Dane, to whoſe protection the deceaſed duke had bequeathed the tender years of his ſon. The Normans were prevailed upon, by the friendly proteſtations of Lewis, to reſign their young duke to his care; he was conveyed to Laon, and the dark deſign of murder has been imputed to the faithleſs guardian; but Richard was preſerved from the danger by the vigilance of his governor, Oſman, who, in the diſguiſe of a groom, eſcaped with his pupil concealed in a truſs of hay, and mounting him on a fleet horſe, conveyed him in ſafety to the friendly caſtle of Bernard, count of Senlis.

On the flight of Richard, Lewis entered Normandy, and advanced to Rouen with a powerful army, while the duke of France penetrated into the country of Bayeaux; but the king was deceived by the ſubmiſſive declarations of Bernard

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the Dane, and the count of Senlis; he commanded Hugo to retire, who reluctantly obeyed the royal mandate; and, in concert with Bernard, advanced to encounter Aigrol, king of Denmark, who had landed in Normandy to ſupport the claims of the infant duke. The pious fraud of Bernard ſecured the defeat of the French; and while Lewis was engaged in a friendly conference with Aigrol, his army was ſuddenly aſſaulted by the Danes; the Franks were ſurpriſed and broken on every ſide, the count of Ponthieu, with eighteen other nobles, periſhed on the field; and the king himſelf, overtaken in the purſuit, was carried priſoner to Rouen.

The perſon of the captive monarch was granted to the weighty ſolicitations of Hugo; but Lewis ſoon diſcovered that the fetters of his ſubject were equally oppreſſive with thoſe of the Normans; and the price of his freedom, after a twelvemonth's confinement, was the city and dioceſe of Laon. Theſe were granted by Hugo to the count of Chartres; and the marriage of Emma, the daughter of the duke of France, with Richard of Normandy, awakened the jealouſy of the nobles, and the apprehenſions of Otho, king of Germany. A formidable conſpiracy enabled Lewis to avow his reſentment againſt his powerful vaſſal; and the provinces of France were alter-

A. D. 945, 954.

nately

nately afflicted by the arms of Lewis and of Otho, of Hugo and of Richard. During five years the flames of civil war raged without intermiſſion; and the precarious peace which was concluded in a perſonal interview, may rather be conſidered as a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities than a reſtoration of tranquillity. The latent embers of diſcord were ſtill kept alive, and they again broke out with freſh violence; they were finally extinguiſhed by the mediation of the two ſiſters, the daughters of Henry of Germany, and the conſorts of the king, and duke of France. A permanent peace was eſtabliſhed; and Lewis prepared to aſſert his authority over the revolted lords of Aquitain, when his deſigns were broken by a ſudden and accidental death: As he purſued a flying wolf with inconſiderate ardour, his horſe ſtumbled and threw him; the injury proved fatal; and in a few days, in the thirty-third year of his age, he A. D. 954. Oct. 15th. cloſed at Rheims a ſtormy and unſucceſsful reign of nineteen years.

The life of Hugo had been ſpent in A. D. 954, 455. an inceſſant ſtruggle to elevate himſelf above the condition of a ſubject; the path of greatneſs now lay open to his ambitious ſteps, yet he declined the eaſy aſcent, and raiſed to the throne Lothaire, the ſon of Lewis, then only in the fourteenth year of his age. The young prince

was

was crowned at Rheims, and the haſty gift of Aquitain proclaimed his gratitude to Hugo: That province had long beſtowed the title of duke on the counts of Poictiers; and William the ſecond of that family, reſented the injuſtice which transferred his hereditary honours to the duke of France: He refuſed to acquieſce in the partial diſtribution; and the lords of Aquitain, impatient and diſcontented, crowded to the independent ſtandard of William. With a conſiderable army, ſanctioned by the name and preſence of Lothaire, Hugo formed and preſſed the ſiege of Poictiers; but his mind, incapable of perſonal fear, was ſuſceptible of ſuperſtitious terror; a clap of thunder broke with violence over his tent, and Hugo raiſed the ſiege. In his retreat he was attacked by William, with his new raiſed forces; the action was ſhort and deciſive; the count was totally defeated, and eſcaped with difficulty from the ſword of the victor.

The ſun of proſperity had invariably gilded the career of Hugo; and his laſt triumph over the count of Poictiers cloſed a ſeries of memorable actions: The year following, this celebrated chief, the ſon and father of a king, and who, without a crown himſelf, had ruled France with deſpotic power, ſunk into the grave, eſteemed by his countrymen, and, perhaps, leaſt

A. D. 956, 980.

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of all, regretted by his ſovereign. To his eldeſt ſon, Hugh, ſurnamed Capet, he aſſigned the cities and dioceſes of Paris and Orleans, and recommended him to the protection of Richard, duke of Normandy; and the three younger, Otho, Eudes, and Henry, ſucceeded each other in the duchy of Burgundy.

The ambition of Lothaire had invaded the duchy of Normandy; and the duke, A. D. preſſed by the ſuperior forces of his antagoniſt, invited to his ſupport the rovers of the north. France was again afflicted by their indefatigable rapacity: Independent and uncontrolled in their depredations, they refuſed to ſubſcribe to the peace which Richard had concluded; and their retreat was with difficulty purchaſed by the treaſures of France and Normandy: Yet Lothaire no ſooner had diſengaged himſelf from this diſtreſs, than, ever reſtleſs, he attempted to oppreſs his vaſſal, the young count of Flanders; that nobleman was preſerved by the interpoſition of the Normans; and the king, baffled in his endeavours to aggrandize himſelf by arms, flattered himſelf, by advantageous alliances, with the hope of reſtoring the waining grandeur of the houſe of Charlemagne. He eſpouſed Emma, the daughter of Lothaire, king of Italy, and beſtowed his ſiſter on Conrad, king of Burgundy; but the ſhort reſpite allowed 956, 980.

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by a peace was followed by years of desolating war; and the possession of Lorraine was disputed, during four successive campaigns, by the kings of Germany and France: Their subjects might mutually regret the destructive effects of ambition, but the success of Otho confirmed his authority, while the disappointment of Lothaire contributed to diminish the little reputation he had acquired.

Four years after, the death of Otho the Second dissolved the alliance between France and Germany, and awakened the hopes of Lothaire: That prince, under the pretence of supporting the claim of Otho the Third, invaded Lorrain, occupied Verdun, and assaulted Cambray; but as he indulged himself in the flattering idea of extending the limits of his kingdom, he was surprised in the forty-fixth year of his age, and the thirty-second of his reign, by the approach of death. He had already associated his son Lewis the Fifth to the throne; and his premature end, when his affairs had assumed the most favourable appearance, was imputed to poison, and the name of Emma, his queen, has been sullied by the breath of suspicion; but the report probably originated in the malice of Charles, the brother of the deceased monarch, always inimical to that princess, and who possibly hoped to

A. D. 984, 986.

A. D. 986. March 2d.

substantiate

ſubſtantiate his pretenſions to Lorrain amidſt a ſcene of anarchy and diſcord.

The throne was filled by Lewis, whoſe weakneſs has been characterized by the expreſſive epithet of *Faineant*; and his inexperienced age of nineteen required the ſupport of a mature and powerful guardian: Hugh Capet had been appointed to that important truſt in the laſt moments of Lothaire; and the fidelity which he had preſerved to the father was diſplayed in the ſhort and turbulent reign of the ſon. But the mind of the headſtrong youth was incapable of inſtruction; he drove with contempt and infamy his mother from his court; and the early death, which delivered his ſubjects from the dominion of vice and folly, has been aſcribed to her implacable reſentment. The laſt of the Carlovingian kings, odious as he was deſpicable, ſunk into the grave; and the founder of a new dynaſty ſeized the vacant throne, and by his wiſe and temperate counſels reſtored the power and grandeur of France. A. D. 986, 987.

Chapter

Chapter the Fourth.

A SHORT VIEW OF THE GOVERNMENT AND CUSTOMS OF THE FRANKS IN GERMANY.—AUTHORITY OF CLOVIS AND HIS SUCCESSORS.—DIVISION OF THE SPOILS AND LANDS.—THE NATURE OF ALLODIAL POSSESSIONS AND BENEFICES.—THE LAWS OF THE FRANKS UNDER THE FIRST AND SECOND RACE.—THE INFLUENCE OF THE CLERGY.—FRANCE IS CONVERTED FROM AN HEREDITARY INTO AN ELECTIVE MONARCHY.—THE CROWN IS TRANSFERRED FROM THE FAMILY OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THAT OF HUGH CAPET.

FROM the acceſſion of Clovis to the extinction of the Carlovingian race, the reader is laborioufly and ungratefully employed in tracing a ſeries of unimportant wars and unintereſting events. The imperial majeſty of Charlemagne darts indeed through the gloom a ſhort ray of luſtre; but the darkneſs ſoon returns, and the tranſient gleam which his regulations afford, are over-ſhadowed by a long night of weakneſs and miſery. The hiſtorian might perhaps have abandoned the turbulent

bulent and diſguſting annals, diſtinguiſhed only by bloody diſſenſions and kindred hatred, had he not conceived the tedious detail in ſome meaſure neceſſary to elucidate the early government and conſtitution of the country that he preſumes to deſcribe.

In this important inveſtigation it will not probably be deemed ſuperfluous to aſcend to the more remote ages of barbariſm. In the woods and the wilds of Germany, the Franks, in common with the other nations which inhabited the north of Europe, acknowledged the authority of magiſtrates or *princes*: Theſe were appointed in the general aſſembly to compoſe differences, and adminiſter juſtice in their reſpective diſtricts; but their power was limited; and although they were permitted annually to divide the landed property of the dioceſe they preſided over, they were reſtrained from inflicting the ſmalleſt corporal puniſhment on a people tenacious of their freedom, and jealous of their honour. Each youth, as ſoon as he attained the age of manhood, was girded with a ſword, and claimed his right of voting in the national council: To this council, which met at ſtated ſeaſons, or according to the public exigency, was referred the puniſhment of thoſe capital crimes which exceeded the cognizance of the princes; and in it were agitated the important queſtions of peace

and war. When the laſt queſtion was determined on, each tribe elected a general to guide his countrymen by his experience, or animate them by his example; but with the return of peace, the delegated authority expired, and the chief retired to a private ſtation, unleſs the purity of his birth entitled him to the adminiſtration of juſtice, as the fame of his valour had recommended him to the command in arms.

But while the Franks rejected with diſdain, or reluctantly ſubmitted to the authority of their magiſtrates, they voluntarily bound themſelves in engagements the moſt ſacred and indiſſoluble. To borrow, in the lively deſcription of Tacitus, the elegant pen of a celebrated modern hiſtorian, The nobleſt youths bluſhed not to be numbered among the faithful companions of ſome renowned chief, to whom they devoted their arms and ſervice. A noble emulation prevailed among the companions, to obtain the firſt place in the eſteem of their chief; amongſt the chiefs, to acquire the greateſt number of valiant companions: To be ever ſurrounded by a band of ſelect youths, was the pride and ſtrength of their chiefs; their ornament in peace, their defence in war. The glory of ſuch diſtinguiſhed heroes diffuſed itſelf beyond the narrow limits of their own tribe. Preſents and embaſſies ſolicited their friendſhip; and the fame of their

arms

arms often enſured victory to the party which they eſpouſed. In the hour of danger it was ſhameful for the chief to be ſurpaſſed in valour by his companions; ſhameful for the companions not to equal the valour of their chief. To ſurvive his fall in battle was indelible infamy; to protect his perſon, and to adorn his glory with the trophies of their own exploits, were the moſt ſacred of their duties. The chiefs combated for victory; the companions, for the chief. The nobleſt warriors, whenever their native country was ſunk in the lazineſs of peace, maintained their numerous bands in ſome diſtant ſcene of action, to exerciſe their reſtleſs ſpirit, and to acquire renown by voluntary dangers. Gifts worthy of ſoldiers; the warlike ſteed, the bloody and ever victorious lance, were the rewards which the companions claimed from the liberality of their chief. The rude plenty of his hoſpitable board was the only pay that *he* could beſtow, or *they* would accept. War, rapine, and the free-will offerings of his friends, ſupplied the materials of his munificence.

Such were the early and warlike aſſociations of the barbarians; and as their conqueſts became more conſiderable, theſe alſo became more extenſive and permanent. The advantages which more civiliſed countries perceive in an hereditary monarchy, moſt probably never preſented them-

ſelves to their obſervation; but the fame of the father was reſpected in the ſon, and the hereditary virtues which attached them to a particular family, was inſenſibly converted into a claim of ſucceſſion. In the fifth century, the different tribes of the Franks ſeated on the banks of the Rhine, all acknowledged the juriſdiction of the Merovingian race. Theſe princes were elevated on a buckler, the ſymbol of military command, and the royal faſhion of long hair was the enſign of their birth and dignity: Yet the influence of theſe long-haired kings was feeble and inadequate; affairs of importance were ſtill determined by the whole community; and in war the martial youth followed the chieftain they approved, through choice and not conſtraint. When Clovis invaded the dominions of Syagrius, his own ſubjects amounted only to five thouſand warriors; but his force was ſwelled by the voluntary acceſſion of the neighbouring tribes, and each hardy adventurer aſſerted his ſhare in the conqueſts to which his valour had contributed. The followers of that prince had plundered a church in the city of Rheims, and carried off, among other ſacred utenſils, a vaſe of extraordinary beauty. The biſhop ſent deputies to Clovis, beſeeching him to reſtore the vaſe, that it might again be employed in the ſacred ſervices to which it had been conſecrated.

Clovis

Clovis desired the deputies to follow him to Soissons, as the booty was to be divided in that place, and promised, that if the lot should give him the disposal of the vase, that he would grant what the bishop desired. When he came to Soissons, and all the booty was placed in one great heap in the middle of the army, Clovis entreated, that before they made the division, they would give him that vase over and above his share. All appeared willing to gratify the king, and to comply with his request, when a fierce and haughty soldier lifted up his battle-axe, and striking the vase with the utmost violence, cried out with a loud voice, "You shall receive nothing here but that "to which the lot gives you a right." The monarch repressed his rising indignation; and to avenge his insulted dignity, was compelled to stoop to the arts of patience and dissimulation. At the annual review of the month of March, when the arms of his warlike followers were diligently inspected, Clovis seized the pretence of military discipline; and as he levelled his battle-axe, or *francisca*, at the head of the devoted victim, the expression of "Remember the vase of Soissons," revealed the latent motives of the tardy chastisement.

The lands which had been wrested from the former possessors by the sword were equally divided,

and probably in the ſame manner as the ſpoil and perſonal effects; and this new diviſion of property gradually introduced a ſpecies of government formerly unknown, and now diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Feudal Syſtem. Though the barbarous nations which framed it, ſettled in their new territories at different times, came from different countries, ſpoke various languages, and were under the command of ſeparate leaders, the feudal policy and laws were eſtabliſhed with little variation in every kingdom in Europe: This amazing uniformity has induced ſome authors to believe, that all theſe nations, notwithſtanding ſo many apparent circumſtances of diſtinction, were originally the ſame people; but it may be aſcribed with greater probability to the ſimilar ſtate of ſociety and of manners to which they were accuſtomed in their native countries, and to the ſimilar ſituation in which they found themſelves, on taking poſſeſſion of their new dominions.

The ground which the ſoldier thought requiſite for his maintenance, or due to his valour, he ſeized by force, or acquired by lot, and retained without either homage or acknowledgement; he enjoyed it during his own life, and could diſpoſe of it at pleaſure, or tranſmit it as an inheritance to his children. This tenure was diſtinguiſhed by the the name of *allodial*, (compounded of the German

man particle *an* and *lot*, i. e. land obtained by lot) and implied the independence of the poſſeſſor, who held the entire property and dominion, without performing ſervice, or owning any ſubordination to a ſuperior lord. But as theſe new proprietors were expoſed to the reſentment and attacks of the ancient inhabitants, it became neceſſary that they ſhould tacitly acquieſce in certain obligations for the protection of the community; and every freeman who refuſed, or neglected to arm in the common cauſe, was liable to a conſiderable penalty. Towards the concluſion of the ſixth century of the chriſtian æra, in the bloody diſcord of the Merovingian race, Chilperic, the firſt who ruled the kingdom of Soiſſons, and Childebert the Second, who had ſucceeded to the throne of Auſtraſia, exacted fines from certain perſons who refuſed to accompany them in their expeditions. Theſe fines could not be exacted while property continued in its firſt ſtate, and military ſervice was entirely voluntary; the nature of the tenure was inſenſibly changed, and military ſervice was the condition on which each perſon held his allodial lands.

Such then was the ſituation of the original adventurer, who had carved out his fortunes by the ſtrength of his arm; but fidelity on one ſide, and gratitude on the other, cemented by the powerful hand

hand of policy, ſoon eſtabliſhed a new deſcription of tenure, under the appellation of *beneficia*, or *benefices*. The king or leader of a tribe, whoſe wiſdom or valour had directed or opened the road to conqueſt, was naturally gratified with the largeſt portion of the territory acquired. The land allotted to him he parcelled out to his adherents, binding them on whom it was beſtowed to bear arms in his defence, and to follow his ſtandard with a certain number of men. The example of the ſovereign was imitated by his chief officers, who diſtributed alſo portions of their lands among their dependents, annexing to the grant the ſame conditions; and theſe benefices differed from the allodial lands, the latter binding the poſſeſſor only to ſerve the community, the former requiring him to arm in defence of the perſon from whom he had received the grant; who permitted him to enjoy it on the tacit condition of fidelity, and who might reſume it at his pleaſure.

The proprietor of the *allodial* lands was diſtinguiſhed by the honourable appellation of *liber homo*, or *freeman*; and was oppoſed to the poſſeſſor of a benefice or fief, who was deſcribed by the ſervile denomination of *vaſſus*, or *vaſſal*. The former, it has already been obſerved, could only be ſummoned for the ſervice of the ſtate; and ſo jealous was the ſovereign of this duty, that free-

men

men were prohibited from entering into holy orders, unleſs they had previouſly obtained the royal conſent. The reaſon aſſigned for this ſingular ſtatute, proclaims the nature and reſources of government; "For we are informed that ſome do ſo, "not ſo much out of devotion, as to avoid the "military ſervice which they are bound to per-"form." It was natural that a government, whoſe protection depended on the number and ſpirit of her freemen, ſhould cautiouſly endeavour to reſtrain the rapid growth of a profeſſion, the indiſcreet exerciſe of which might impair the ſtrength, and looſen the foundation of the monarchy.

But the claim of military ſervice was all the freeman contributed, and all the ſtate demanded. The impoſition of taxes, under the accumulated weight of which modern empires bend, he was happily exempt from; that burden was reſerved for the unhappy race of *bondſmen* and *villains*; the Gauls and Romans, who had been ſubjected by the ſword of the barbarians. According to the maxims of ancient war, the conqueror became the lawful maſter of the enemy whom he had ſubdued and ſpared; and the decay of the original inhabitants was ſupplied by the martial enterpriſes of the Franks. The leader of a ſucceſsful expedition, in his triumphant return, dragged after him a train of miſerable captives; and thoſe who were

were deſtitute of art, or charms, to miniſter to the pleaſures of their lord, were condemned, without the ſmalleſt regard to their former ſituation, to tend the cattle, and cultivate the lands of the victorious barbarian: Their labours were rendered more heavy by the addition of the *cenſus*, or *impoſt*; and the king, the clergy, and the lords, raiſed regular taxes on the bondſmen of their reſpective demeſnes. Theſe taxes are to be conſidered as private, not public obligations, and were peculiar to the bondſmen, from whom the *villains* only differed in paying a fixed rent to their maſter for the land which they cultivated, and retaining whatever remained of the fruits of their induſtry as their own property. But although this might prove in ſome meaſure an alleviation of their melancholy lot, they were, equally with the ſlaves, attached to the land, *adſcripti villæ*, whence they derived their name, and were transferable with it.

This unhappy condition of men, who endured the weight without ſharing the benefits of ſociety, when the ſource of foreign ſupplies flowed in leſs abundance, was ſwelled through the more conſtant channel of domeſtic oppreſſion. The policy of ancient Rome rendered it impoſſible for a citizen to loſe or alienate his native freedom. When the imperial city was delivered to the licentious rage of Alaric, the Gothic king, the civil juriſ-

prudence

prudence had qualified this law by a prudent and temporary regulation; and to preſerve from the bloody caprice of the Goths, a train of uſeleſs captives whom none could legally purchaſe, it was ordained, that a Roman citizen ſhould be compelled, by five years ſervice, to diſcharge the price of his redemption. But the Franks deſpiſed the manners, and were ignorant of the laws of the Romans: The inſtitutions which had prevailed through the wilds of Germany were frequently adopted, and generally diffuſed throughout their new ſettlements; and the ſubjects of the Merovingian kings claimed the fatal privilege of diſpoſing of their perſonal freedom. Famine might prevail on the meagre wretch to purchaſe a continuance of life by all that can render it deſirable; and the example of the poor was followed by the feeble, who, oppreſſed by the powerful poſſeſſors of lands, renounced their liberty, and became the voluntary ſlaves of the great. The former hoped for ſubſiſtence, the latter implored protection, from their new maſters. In an edict of Charles the Bald, the humanity of that monarch commands that the freemen who had ſold themſelves, during a recent famine, ſhould be ranſomed and reſtored to their former condition; but this partial effort was more honourable to the prince than ſerviceable to the people; and the greater

greater part of the inhabitants of France was, at the commencement of the third race of kings, reduced to a ſtate of abject ſlavery.

Before we proceed to conſider the progreſſive change in the conſtitution, during the firſt and ſecond race of the monarchs of France, it will, perhaps, gratify the curioſity of the reader, to glance his eye over a ſhort ſketch of the laws and inſtitutions of the barbarians, who ſubdued and poſſeſſed the wealthy provinces of Gaul. The Salic laws are generally allowed to have been originally pronounced in the Latin tongue; and the ignorance of the barbarians of Germany may reaſonably induce us to conclude, that the ſyſtem of juriſprudence, which was delivered in a foreign language, could not have been framed before they had burſt the limits of their native foreſts. A ſeries of fifty years is compriſed, from the acceſſion of Clodion to that of Clovis; and during this period, it is more than probable, the Salic laws were firſt promulgated. But if the language in which they were delivered allows us to aſcertain the æra of their birth, the features and temper of this celebrated code proclaim the country of the parent, and expreſs the genuine ſpirit of the Franks. Four venerable chieftains, natives of four different cantons, whoſe claims have exerciſed the ingenuity of modern criticiſm, were appointed to compoſe the

the Salic laws; and their labours were examined and approved in three ſucceſſive aſſemblies of the people. The articles moſt incompatible with chriſtianity were afterwards modified by the zeal and diligence of Clovis; and one hundred years after the eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy, they were finally reviſed and promulgated by Dagobert, the fourth in deſcent from the royal proſelyte. About the ſame time the cuſtoms of the *Ripuarians* were carefully tranſcribed and publiſhed; and theſe are generally ſuppoſed to have prevailed from the Carbonarian foreſt to the Rhine, while the *Salic* laws were obeyed from the ſame foreſt to the banks of the Loire.

The admirable ſimplicity and original ſpirit of the Salic and Ripuarian laws, as well as thoſe of the Alemanni and Bavarians, vaſſals of the victorious Franks, have challenged the praiſe, and commanded the reſpect of modern legiſlators: They were adapted to the wants and deſires, the occupations and capacity of the barbarians; yet the policy or indolence of the Merovingian princes, permitted each people, and each family of their empire, freely to enjoy their domeſtic inſtitutions; nor were the Romans excluded from the common benefits of this legal toleration. The children embraced the *law* of their parents, the wife that of her huſband, the freed-man that of his

his patron; and in all cauſes where the parties were of different nations, the plaintiff, or the accuſer, was obliged to follow the tribunal of the defendant.

But if ſome indulgence was granted to the vanquiſhed nations in the choice and maintenance of their private laws, much more was allowed in the public inſtitutions to the haughty ſpirit of the barbarian victors. Their lofty notions of ſuperiority over the degenerate Gauls and Romans were ſtudiouſly encouraged; their pious confidence in the interpoſition of heaven was devoutly cheriſhed; and their unſhaken reliance on their own perſonal ſtrength and valour was legally inculcated.

The independent warrior of Germany ſcorned to repreſs the ſanguinary emotions of his indignation; his hand was ever prompt to avenge the real or imaginary inſult that rankled in his mind; the feeble authority of the magiſtrate might endeavour to propitiate, but could not even hope to extinguiſh his inſatiate thirſt for vengeance: Uncontrolled by the laws of his country, the offender had only to dread the reſentment of the ſons and kindred of him whom he had ſacrificed; but the prince who could not puniſh, frequently interpoſed, to reconcile the contending parties; and he might applaud his powers of perſuaſion, if he

he could prevail on the one to pay, and the other to accept the moderate fine, which had been aſcertained as the price of blood. A more rigorous ſentence would have been rejected by the impatient Frank; yet ſtill the equality of life was reſpected, and the aſſaſſination of a peaſant, or prince, was attended with a ſimilar penalty. But the pride of victory inſpired the haughty breaſt of the ferocious invader with loftier pretenſions: New diſtinctions were created; different degrees of guilt were eſtabliſhed, according to the condition of the devoted victim; and the proſtrate Roman was taught to revere the exiſtence of the inſolent barbarian as of higher value than his own.

The *antruſtion, qui in truſte dominicâ eſt, who poſſeſſed the royal confidence*, and whoſe name is expreſſive of the moſt illuſtrious of the Franks in birth or dignity, might conſider himſelf ſecured from the fatal reſentment of his adverſary by the protecting penalty of ſix hundred pieces of gold; but a noble Roman, although 300l. ſterl. he was admitted to partake of the hoſpitable and friendly board of the monarch, could be legally murdered for three hundred pieces. The life of a common Frank, or barbarian, was valued by the Salic law at two hundred pieces; but the death of a Roman proprietor might be expiated for one hundred, and that of a vaſſal for the trifling compenſation

penſation of forty-five pieces of gold. The relative degrees of injuries were weighed with the ſame ſcrupulous exactneſs: The Frank who was impriſoned by a Roman, could claim thirty pieces of gold; but fifteen were deemed ſufficient to atone for the injuſtice of the Frank, who had wantonly confined a Roman. It is with aſtoniſhment that we review, in theſe criminal proceedings, the cool and deliberate injuſtice of the legiſlators, who could thus arbitrarily appreciate the lives of the people they had vanquiſhed; and, after ſubduing them by their arms, ſtudiouſly oppreſs them by the iron rule of their laws. But the policy of the barbarians was like their limbs, coarſe and maſculine; the faſtidious Frank was wrapt up in the contemplation of his own valour; and, incapable of reflection, he knew not how to ſeparate the worth of the individual from the degeneracy of the community which he had enſlaved.

The *Ripuarian*, and in ſome inſtances the *Salic* laws, proclaimed the impatient ſpirit of thoſe who compoſed them. The reſtleſs barbarian was but ill qualified for the patient adminiſtration of juſtice; and the illiterate chieftain, rejecting a tedious inveſtigation of the truth, allowed the accuſed to clear himſelf by his own oath, and the concurring oaths of a certain number of his friends. Theſe *compurgators*, ſuch was their deſcriptive name,

name, were multiplied according to the nature of the accuſation; and the aſſaſſin, or incendiary, might retire with impunity, if he could procure ſeventy-two fearleſs confederates, ſtedfaſtly to ſwear that he was innocent of the crime alleged. But when the chaſtity of Fredegonde, the widow of Chilperic, of Soiſſons, was impeached, and the legitimate birth of her ſon was queſtioned, the queen herſelf not only ſwore that the child was the offspring of her deceaſed huſband, but three holy biſhops, and three hundred gallant nobles, depoſed, upon oath, that ſhe had ſworn truly: Yet hiſtory allows us ſtill to ſuſpect the fidelity of the queen to the bed of her conſort; and the conduct of Fredegonde has furniſhed an ample ſubject for the pen of ſcandal. Even the indolence of the barbarian magiſtrate was vanquiſhed by a ſeries of unbluſhing perjuries; and from the evidence of man, the unhappy object of accuſation was commanded to appeal to the judgment of God. The perſon who was arraigned, to juſtify his innocence, was required to plunge his arm in boiling water, to lift a red-hot iron, to walk barefoot over burning plough-ſhares, or to ſubmit to ſome other experiment, equally perilous and formidable. The interpoſition of heaven, it was expected, would change the nature of the elements; and theſe extraordinary trials were ſo capriciouſly

contrived, that guilt in ſome caſes, and innocence in others, could not be proved without a miracle. The devouring rage of fire, it was preſumed, *could* not affect the ſpotleſs; the pure element of water *would* not, it was determined, receive into its boſom the polluted. The atrocious criminal, who ſunk, was eagerly ſaved from the wave, and acquitted; but the life and reputation of the innocent victim was abandoned, without pity, to the fury of the flames: Credulity was the parent of fraud; the credit of the ordeal was ſupported by a long ſucceſſion of ſucceſsful impoſtures; and the turbulent Frank, who rejected the deciſion of the magiſtrate, patiently acquieſced in the *judgment of God.*

A nation of warriors, fraught with lofty notions of honour and hereditary valour, believed the brave man ought never to be condemned, and the coward ought never to be acquitted. As a people, the high ſpirited Germans had maintained in many a bloody field their martial reputation and haughty independence: The ſame confidence, with which they aſſerted the glory and freedom of their country, they diſplayed in vindicating their private conduct from the ſtain of reproach. Every man was the guardian of his own honour, and of his own life; and the juſtice of his cauſe, and his future character, depended on his own perſonal

proweſs.

proweſs. This mode of deciſion was conſidered accordingly as one of the happieſt efforts of policy; and as ſoon as it was introduced, all the forms of trial by fire or water, and other ſuperſtitious experiments, fell into diſuſe, or were employed only in controverſies between perſons of inferior rank. The Salic laws for ſome time rejected the ſanguinary and doubtful expedient; but it was early entertained and approved by the Ripuarian Franks; and Gundobald, king of Burgundy, condeſcended to anſwer the doubts and objections of the biſhop Avitus. "Is it not "true," ſaid he, "that the event of national "wars, and private combats, is directed by the "judgment of God, and that his providence "awards the victory to the juſter cauſe?" However ridiculous this argument may appear, it was well adapted to an ignorant and ſuperſtitious age; but an edict of the ſame monarch reveals a more prudent and probable reaſon for the countenance he afforded to this ſanguinary practice: "It is "to prevent our ſubjects from atteſting on oath, "what they ſometimes are ignorant of, and what "they frequently know to be falſe." The ſame remedy was rapidly applied in every kingdom to the ſame evil; the cuſtom ſoon extended from Burgundy throughout Europe, and was ſucceſsfully propagated in every monarchy, from Sicily

to the Baltic. It was authoriſed by Charlemagne and Lewis le Debonnaire; and before the end of the Carlovingian race, it received the ſanction of Otho the Second, emperor of Germany. During ten ſucceſſive centuries it withſtood the ineffectual cenſures of ſaints, of popes, and of ſynods; and the feeble and enervated citizen was oppreſſed in the unequal conflict by the ſtrength and ſkill of the martial barbarian.

The ſolemnities of a judicial combat were ſuch as might naturally be expected in a formal appeal to God, and in the final deciſion of queſtions of the higheſt moment. The accuſer, in the preſence of the judge, aſſerted that the perſon whom he choſe to impeach had been guilty of a ſpecified crime; the accuſed made anſwer that he lied, and the judge gave orders that they ſhould maintain the juſtice of their cauſe by arms. Before the combatants engaged, their relations were commanded to retire; ſilence was enjoined by the magiſtrate; and the moſt ſevere penalties prohibited the ſpectators from offering any aſſiſtance to either of the contending parties: The liſts were properly and carefully guarded by the civil power; the trumpet ſounded; and the champion who came off victorious was pronounced acquitted by the *judgment of God*. Eccleſiaſtics, women, and minors, who could not with decency or juſtice be compelled

compelled to take up arms, or to maintain their own cauſe, were forced to entruſt their lives and reputations to thoſe whom they could engage to enter the liſts in their defence. The firſt might depend upon the ready zeal of a ſuperſtitious age; the perſonal charms of the ſecond might probably animate the coldeſt warrior; but the third could only hope protection from the influence of intereſt. The principals on theſe occaſions were placed where they could not behold the battle; each was bound with the cord deſtined for his execution if his champion was overcome; and the champion himſelf, that he might engage with more obſtinacy in the cauſe he eſpouſed, atoned for his defeat by the loſs of his hand.

At the commencement of the third race, even the judges themſelves were ſubject to theſe judicial combats; their opinions might be interrupted by the contending parties, and they might be challenged to defend the integrity of their deciſions by arms. The honour of the magiſtrate was to be vindicated in a field of blood. If his authority was contemned, he inſiſted on ſatisfaction with his ſword; and the words in which he demanded it were few and peremptory: "I "ſent for thee, and thou didſt not come; I de-"mand therefore ſatisfaction for this thy con-"tempt." The liſts were accordingly prepared,

and the breaſt of the magiſtrate was expoſed to the lance of the culprit. To uſe the words of an elegant and profound Hiſtorian, Robertſon. "By this barbarous cuſtom the natural courſe of "proceeding, both in civil and criminal queſtions, "was entirely perverted. Force uſurped the place "of equity in courts of judicature, and juſtice "was baniſhed from her proper manſion. Diſ-"cernment, learning, and integrity, were quali-"ties leſs neceſſary to a judge, than perſonal "ſtrength and dexterity in the uſe of arms. "Daring courage and ſuperior vigour or addreſs "were of more moment towards ſecuring the fa-"vourable iſſue of a ſuit, than the equity of a "cauſe, or the clearneſs of the evidence." Men of courſe applied themſelves to cultivate the talents which they found to be of the greateſt utility. As ſtrength of body and addreſs in arms were no leſs requiſite in thoſe liſts which they were obliged to enter, in defence of their private rights, than in the field of battle where they met the enemies of their country, it became the great object of education, as well as the chief employment of life, to acquire theſe martial accompliſhments. The adminiſtration of juſtice, inſtead of accuſtoming men to liſten to the voice of equity, or to reverence the deciſions of law, added to the ferocity of their manners, and taught them to conſider

conſider force as the great arbiter of right and wrong.

The preceding pages may impreſs the reader with the temper and manners of the conquerors of Gaul, from their cuſtoms and inſtitutions; one article of the Salic law ſtill demands our attention: "No part of the Salic lands ſhall be inherited by a woman; but being acquired by the males, male *children* only ſhall be capable of ſucceeding." Yet this article only expreſſed that the males ſhall ſucceed to the lands of their *father*; but in five articles, which precede this, it is poſitively declared, that if a man dies without *iſſue*, 1. His father *or* his mother ſhall ſucceed him. 2. If he has neither father nor mother, the patrimony ſhall paſs to his brother *or ſiſter*. 3. If he has neither brother nor ſiſter, the *ſiſter* of his *mother* may claim his eſtate. 4. If his mother has no ſiſter, the next right is aſſigned to the *ſiſter* of his father; and, 5. If his father has no ſiſter, the neareſt relation by the male ſide ſhall ſucceed. Thus, in the third and fourth articles, a direct preference is given to the females over the males, and particularly in the third article the ſiſter of the mother is entitled to ſucceed in prejudice to the ſiſter of the father. Even the fifth article, which decrees that after the father's ſiſter, the inheritance ſhould paſs to the neareſt male relation,

is immediately afterwards limited; and it is declared, that if this relation is beyond the fifth degree, the regulation ceaſes, and the female may again aſſert the claim of proximity of blood. Yet, although the Salic law can be accuſed of partiality to the males in one inſtance alone, and in regulating the ſucceſſion, prefers the ſons only to the daughters, this has undoubtedly been extended to the excluſion of females from the throne of France; and the natural rights of the more amiable ſex have been thruſt aſide by the arm of the ſtronger. The aſſertion is corroborated by a tranſient glance of the laws of the neighbouring barbarians: The Burgundians, equally with the Salians, precluded daughters from inheriting the land in conjunction with their brothers, and they were equally debarred from aſcending the throne. The Viſigoths, with ſuperior liberality, allowed the claim of the daughter equally with that of the ſon; regulation of private property was extended to public authority; and the ſceptre of the Viſigoths might be graſped by a female hand. Among the Lombards, Theudelinda, the daughter of Garibald, king of Bavaria, and the widow of Autharis, the king of Lombardy, was permitted to fill the throne with the perſon on whom ſhe beſtowed her hand; and Amalaſontha, after the death of her ſon Athalaric, ruled with abſolute ſway the kingdom

dom of the Oſtrogoths; and when ſhe conſented to divide her throne, her choice was determined by the deſcent of Theodatus from the princeſs Amalafreda.

From this haſty review of the laws and cuſtoms of the Franks and barbarians, we return once more to the political conſtitution, the progreſſive hiſtory of which is the principal object of our enquiries. The *freeman*, conſcious of his haughty independence, might, in the annual aſſemblies of the people, controul or inſult the feeble authority of the ſovereign; but the *vaſſal* reſpected the voice of his benefactor, and readily obeyed the hand which had beſtowed on him his benefice, and which could reſume it at pleaſure. The lands originally aſſigned to the monarch were proportionably more extenſive than thoſe of his nobles: His vaſſals were more numerous, and his influence conſequently ſuperior; but the precarious tenure which depended on the caprice of another, did not long ſatisfy thoſe who enjoyed it; and by various means the vaſſals gradually obtained a confirmation of their benefices during life. This practice appears firſt to have been introduced by Charles Martel; but it was not till his deſcendants had aſcended the throne, that the benefices were converted into hereditary fiefs, and the property taken out of the hands of the lord, and lodged in thoſe of the vaſſal.

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The influence of the crown was checked and diminiſhed by this important change; the prerogative of the monarch had derived ſome ſupport from his liberality; the wealth of the Merovingian princes conſiſted in their extenſive domains, the prize of their martial labours; and one hundred and ſixty royal manſions, or farms, appear to have been ſcattered through the provinces occupied by the Franks: This ample patrimony was appropriated to ſupply the hoſpitality of Clovis and his ſucceſſors, and to reward the fidelity of their brave companions. But as ſoon as the rapacious and independent nobles had eſtabliſhed the perpetual property and hereditary ſucceſſion of their benefices, a new order of tyrants aroſe in the provinces, who under the appellation of *ſeniors*, or lords, oppreſſed the ſubject, and inſulted the ſovereign. Secure of perſonal independence, the powerful chiefs neglected the labours of government; the national council was rarely ſummoned; and when ſummoned, more rarely attended; and the monarchy was left without any regular eſtabliſhment of juſtice, of arms, or of revenue. The ſucceſſors of Clovis wanted reſolution to aſſume, or ſtrength to exerciſe the legiſlative and executive powers which the people had abdicated: The royal prerogative was diſtinguiſhed only by a more ample privilege of rapine and murder; and the love

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of freedom was reduced among the licentious Franks to a contempt of order, and a deſire of impunity.

The ſame ſpirit of encroachment which rendered fiefs hereditary, excited the inſatiate nobles to extort from their ſovereigns hereditary offices and honours; ſo ſolicitous were the monarchs to guard againſt this ſpirit of uſurpation, and ſo well appriſed were they of the conſequences, that, on ſome occaſions, they obliged the perſon whom they promoted to any office of dignity, to grant an obligation, that neither they nor their heirs ſhould claim it as belonging to them by hereditary right. This feeble barrier was ſoon trampled on by a daring and powerful nobility; a new change in government was introduced by this revolution in property; the extenſive poſſeſſions of the great vaſſals of the crown were gradually accompanied by a proportional degree of power; they depreſſed the juriſdiction of the king, and overwhelmed the privileges of the people; and the progreſs of feudal acquiſitions diſtinctly marks the different periods of the conſtitution, and the ſucceſſive political influence of the king and the people.

The firſt princes of the Merovingian race had regarded, with an eye of ſuſpicion, the aggrandiſement of their nobles, and had watched their growing greatneſs with a commendable jealouſy; their

their prudent precautions had annually changed the governors of the provinces or diſtricts; and the regulations which ſagacity had dictated, yielded only to the perſuaſive voice of immediate intereſt, and the fatal ſpirit of avarice. In the reign of Gontram, king of Burgundy, Peonius, count or governor of Auxerre, employed his ſon to purchaſe the continuance of his authority; the ſon betrayed the truſt, and employed the money to procure the appointment for himſelf: But the tranſaction proclaims the corruption of the times, and the narrow policy of the ſordid Monarch, whoſe ſucceſſor, Clotaire the Second, effaced the remembrance of the indiſcretion by a ſtill greater, and conferred on Warnacharius, the Mayor of Burgundy, his office for life. We revere the piety of the king, who reſpected the oath which diſtreſs had extorted; but the ſucceſſors of Clotaire had reaſon to regret the improvident liberality which ſo materially injured, and viſibly impaired the royal dignity.

The king had eſtabliſhed the office of mayor for life; and the privilege of beſtowing that important appointment was claimed by the people. On the death of Warnacharius, Clotaire demanded of the aſſembly, whom he ſhould raiſe to the formidable truſt; but the voice of the council waved the dangerous election, and declared its implicit

implicit confidence in the ſole adminiſtration of the monarch. His ſon Dagobert ſucceeded with his throne to his popularity; during the ſucceſſive reigns of theſe two princes the regal authority was preſerved pure and undiminiſhed; nor was the dignity of the throne inſulted by the preſence of a rival ſubject. But on the death of Dagobert the appointment of mayor was again revived; and in a ſhort time the influence of theſe powerful miniſters overſhadowed that of the crown. The nation, jealous of royal and hereditary power, was ready to commit the reins of government to the creature of their own favour, whoſe fortune was founded on popular eſteem, and whoſe authority might be limited by the public diſtruſt.

The arm of the mayor was ſoon ſtretched from the palace to the camp; the command of the armies, the diſpoſal of the revenues, the diſtribution of the fiefs, or benefices, were veſted in the ſame perſon; and the civil and military adminiſtration was divided from the tottering throne. The Franks were accuſtomed in their native barbariſm to revere the illuſtrious birth of their princes, the valour and genius of their generals; the former were hereditary, the latter elective; and the Merovingian kings, and theſe aſpiring mayors, perpetuated in Gaul a ſyſtem which had originated in the wilds of Germany. It was impoſſible that a govern-

a government formed of ſuch diſcordant materials ſhould long ſubſiſt; the leaſt ſpark was ſufficient to kindle the combuſtible matter; and the jealouſy of the monarch, or the ambition of the miniſter, ſprung the fatal mine: A ſeries of bloody wars was cloſed by the victories of Pepin, duke of Auſtraſia, and his illegitimate ſon, Charles Martel. The reins of government dropped from the feeble hands of the Merovingian ſucceſſors of Clovis: The phantom of royalty might, for ſome time, ſerve to amuſe, or delude the people; but even that vaniſhed at length: The manly ſpirit of Pepin, ſurnamed the Short, ſcorned even the ſhadow of a maſter; under his adminiſtration the Merovingian race was extinguiſhed; and with the approbation of the people, the ſupport of the nobles, and the concurrence of the Roman pontiff, the ſucceſsful mayor aſcended the throne, and tranſferred the ſceptre of France to a new dynaſty.

The holy deciſion of pope Zachary diſſolved the allegiance of the Franks to the poſterity of Clovis, and limited the future choice of the nation to the Carlovingian race; nor had the inferior clergy been leſs zealous in the cauſe of Pepin, than the repreſentative of St. Peter; the barbarians had early found the miniſters of the goſpel poſſeſſed of conſiderable wealth and power; the new proſelytes to the Chriſtian religion, reverenced

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in his choſen ſervants, the God they adored; but it is poſſible the monarch beheld their riſing greatneſs with a different eye from his ſubjects, and there is ſtill extant a ſpeech of Chilperic, grandſon of Clovis, in which he complained that the landed property was monopolized by the church: "Our exchequer," ſaid he, "is impoveriſhed, "and our riches are transferred to the clergy; "none reign now but biſhops, who live in gran- "deur while ours is eclipſed." Yet the jealouſy of the king was not able to ſtem the torrent; and the ſtream of eccleſiaſtical wealth was ſwelled by the liberality of Pepin the Fat. Through ſucceſſive reigns it continually increaſed in its courſe, and though checked for a moment by the powerful hand of Charles Martel, yet it ſoon regained its force, and threatened at length to overwhelm the authority of the people and the crown. The perſons of the clergy were already deemed ſacred as their function; and it would have been conſidered as impious to ſubject them to the ſame juriſdiction as the laity; their attention to ſpiritual, did not allow them to neglect their temporal, concerns; and they improved the credulity of a ſuperſtitious age to the eſtabliſhment of courts, in which every queſtion that regarded their own character and property was tried; the fiefs which had been ſeized by Charles Martel were compenſated

compenſated for by the pious generoſity of Pepin the Short, and the eſtabliſhment of tythes in the ſubſequent reign of Charlemagne. The eſteem of the Imperial votary beſtowed on them that civil juriſdiction and temporal dominion, which the piety of his ſon Lewis might confirm, but his experience muſt have diſapproved, through the viciſſitudes of a long and turbulent reign.

The deciſion of the Roman pontiff had tranſferred the royal title to Pepin, and the name of king was united to the higheſt office of the ſtate; but although the Franks were commanded, under the penalty of interdiction, to perpetuate the regal authority in his family, they were indulged with the liberty of chooſing the moſt worthy or moſt popular of his race. This elective right is confirmed by the diviſion of the empire which Charlemagne made among his three children. After he had finally allotted to each his reſpective inheritance, he adds, "that if one of the three "brothers ſhould have a ſon whom the people "are willing to chooſe as a fit perſon to ſucceed "to his father's kingdom, his uncles ſhall con-"ſent to it." A ſimilar regulation marks, in the aſſembly of Aix le Chapelle, the partition of the dominions of Lewis le Debonnaire among his children, Pepin, Lewis, and Charles; and the important privilege of the people is clearly aſcertained

tained by the coronation oath of Lewis the Stammerer: "I, Lewis, by the Divine Mercy, and "by the *people's election*, appointed king." And from the acceſſion of the ſecond race, France may be conſidered as changed from a hereditary into an elective monarchy.

The authority of the annual aſſemblies, at the commencement of the ſecond dynaſty, was ſtill vigorous and unimpaired; their right of determining which of the royal family ſhould be placed upon the throne has already been noticed; they were regularly aſſembled and conſulted in affairs of the greateſt importance; and without their conſent no law was paſſed, and no new tax levied; even the imperial fortune of Charlemagne acknowledged the conſtitutional authority of the national council; his penetrating mind carefully balanced every order of the ſtate, and remained perfect maſter of them all; and his commanding genius united the whole in one grand political ſyſtem: But his death diſſolved the confederacy; his ſon ſucceeded to the unwieldy empire, with a temper better ſuited to a convent than a palace; his clemency encouraged the turbulent ſpirit of the nobles; his piety nouriſhed the holy ambition of the clergy. His dominions, on his deceaſe, were diſputed with the inveteracy of fraternal hatred; and the death of one hundred thouſand French in the

battle of Fontenoy, looſened the very foundations of the monarchy: The vaſſals of the crown, under the reign of Charlemagne, had been compelled, in caſe of any war, to repair to the ſtandard of their prince; but the nobles of France regarded with diſguſt the bloody field of civil commotion; and the rival brothers were compelled to ſoothe their indignation, by limiting the claim of ſervice to the exigency of defenſive war. About the ſame period, a new regulation of Charles the Bald, ordained that the ſon ſhould ſucceed to the fief or government of his father; and the ſource of power, by the imprudence of that prince, was again removed at a greater diſtance from the throne.

From this æra is to be dated the rapid decline of the race of Charlemagne; the Normans and Saracens afflicted with inceſſant invaſions the unhappy kingdom; and the vaſſals of the crown, who ſhould have oppoſed them, aſſumed the haughty tone of independence: The ſovereign no longer poſſeſſed any direct authority; his dependents were few, while thoſe of his nobles were daring and numerous: The royal juriſdiction was confined to the cities or diſtricts of Rheims and Laon; and the powerful barons derided his ſummons, and invaded his prerogative. Each within his own dioceſe aſſumed thoſe privileges which ought

ought to have been poſſeſſed by the king alone: From the gates of his caſtle the lordly chief iſſued with a train of fearleſs followers, and ravaged and oppreſſed the country round. The count, whoſe influence extended over a wider ſpace, maintained in his territory a more ample and more regular authority; he diſpenſed juſtice, coined money, and waged war at pleaſure; and if ever he joined the royal ſtandard, it was to gratify, under the name of his ſovereign, his own reſentment, or to purſue his own intereſt, in the reduction of ſome rival vaſſal.

The conſtitution was rent between the extremes of anarchy and deſpotiſm; and the eyes and hopes of an harraſſed people were turned on Hugh Capet, duke of France. The dying bequeſt of the crown, from the feeble Lewis the Fifth, had ever been received with juſt ſuſpicion; nor could a monarch, whoſe own authority was elective, tranſfer the power he was entruſted with, or in the laſt moments of an unfortunate reign, command the voice of the nation. The preference of Hugh Capet to fill the throne of France, was derived from a different ſource than the expiring breath of regal imbecillity; his grandfather had taſted of royalty, and the glory of his father was ſtill freſh in the minds of his friends and adherents; he himſelf poſſeſſed the important cities of Paris and

Orleans, which commanded the navigation of the Seine and the Loire, and could alone check the piratical depredations of the Normans; affection and intereſt combined to direct the choice of the nation, and the crown, which in the election of Pepin was annexed to the greateſt *office*, was, in the perſon of Hugh Capet, annexed to the greateſt *fief*.

Chapter the Fifth.

ACCESSION OF HUGH CAPET TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE. — CHARLES, DUKE OF LORRAIN, ASSERTS HIS CLAIM; — HE IS DEFEATED AND TAKEN PRISONER. — DEATH OF HUGH. — SUCCESSIVE REIGNS OF HIS SON AND GRANDSON, ROBERT THE FIRST, AND HENRY THE FIRST. — WILLIAM, SURNAMED THE BASTARD, ESTABLISHES HIS AUTHORITY OVER NORMANDY.

THE hand of death had torn the diadem from the temples of the feeble Lewis, and placed it on the prudent brows of Capet: Yet one competitor appeared to diſpute the invaluable acquiſition; and the arm of A. D. 987. Charles, duke of Lorrain, and uncle to the deceaſed king, was ſtretched out to intercept the royal prize. The neceſſities of the ſtate induced a people, oppreſſed by innumerable calamities, to prefer the merit and power of Hugh Capet to the laſt of the male line of Charlemagne. The election of the duke of France annexed to the crown the fertile and wealthy dioceſes of Paris and Orleans; to his own poſſeſſions might be added his

ſplendid and advantageous connections; his brother Henry occupied the rich duchy of Burgundy; and his brother-in-law, the duke of Normandy, was attached to his intereſt by the ties of friendſhip as well as of marriage; while Charles, independent of his unpopular manners, was doomed to experience the implacable reſentment of the dowager queen, Emma; who, with unceaſing hatred, purſued the ſlanderer of her reputation, and ſought to avenge the injurious rumour which named her as the poiſoner of her huſband.

The precautions of the duke of France were viſible in the rapid meaſures he adopted. In a few days after the deceaſe of Lewis he was proclaimed king at Nojon, and was ſolemnly crowned at Rheims; yet ſeveral of the powerful nobles maintained an haughty ſilence, and their ſullen reſerve and abſence from the coronation betrayed their envious diſguſt at the elevation of their late equal. Had activity been among the qualities of the duke of Lorrain, he might probably have eſtabliſhed his plauſible pretenſions; but it was the misfortune of that prince to be characterized by a ſpirit of procraſtination; and though neither deficient in courage or capacity when once rouſed to arms, he continued to deliberate when he ought to have acted, and ſuffered his rival to take the field before he erected

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the ſtandard of oppoſition, and collected his ſcattered partizans. While his irreſolution cooled the flame of his open, and extinguiſhed the favourable warmth of his ſecret friends, the king, impatient of reſiſtance, and eager to embrace the auſpicious moment, prepared with a numerous force to humble thoſe lords who had refuſed to yield him homage. William, duke of Guienne, or, as he is ſometimes ſtiled, of Aquitain, was the moſt conſiderable among the vaſſals of the crown who rejected the authority of their new ſovereign; the royal army entered the territory of the contumacious chief, and inveſted the city of Poictiers; but the king was recalled from this enterpriſe by the intelligence, that the duke of Lorrain, with the aſſiſtance of Herbert, count of Troyes, whoſe daughter he had married, had levied a formidable force in Champagne, and menaced his defenceleſs dominions. To protect his unguarded ſubjects, and to engage the rival of his crown, Hugh haſtily raiſed the ſiege of Poictiers, and by forced marches preſſed towards the banks of the Loire; but his retreat was harraſſed by the hoſtile attacks of the duke of Guienne; and that nobleman was at length encouraged by the number of his troops to encounter in a deciſive field the arms of his ſovereign. The conflict was ſhort and bloody; and the defeat of the duke was followed by his

immediate ſubmiſſion. Hugh ſeized the favourable hour of victory; and to ſecure the throne to his family, propoſed, in an aſſembly of the nobles, the aſſociation of his ſon Robert: His ſucceſs enſured the approbation of the barons, humbled by the chaſtiſement of the duke of Guienne; and Robert, at Orleans, received the crown from the hands of the archbiſhop of Sens.

1 Jan. A. D. 988.

The prudence of Hugh was inceſſantly diſplayed in the meaſures he purſued; but the efforts of his rival compelled him alſo to exert his valour. Charles had improved the moments of abſence, and with the city of Laon had poſſeſſed himſelf of the perſon of his inveterate enemy, the queen dowager Emma. On the approach of Hugh he was reduced to retire within the walls of his new acquiſition; and the activity of the monarch was ſtimulated by the importance of the prize: Laon was cloſely inveſted on every ſide; yet in a ſucceſsful ſally of the beſieged, a conſiderable detachment of the royal army was deſtroyed; and the king endured the mortification of relinquiſhing the hopeleſs enterpriſe. Even his policy on this occaſion ſerved only to augment his diſtreſs; the archbiſhopric of Rheims was offered by Hugh, and accepted by Arnold, the nephew of Charles, and the illegitimate ſon of his brother Lothaire, as the price of his deſertion; but

A. D. 989, 991.

but the monarch was ſtained with the perfidy of the intrigue without reaping the benefit. Arnold had ſcarce occupied the ſee and city of Rheims, before he betrayed the gates to the duke of Lorrain; and the thin veil with which he affected to conceal his double treachery, by a pretended captivity, was renounced, to appear in arms at the head of his uncle's troops.

With a numerous army Hugh directed his march towards, and threatened the revolted city; but when he had diverted the attention of his rival to the defence of Rheims, he ſuddenly changed the object of his enterpriſe, and rapidly advanced to Laon. He had already ſecured in his intereſt the biſhop of that place, who had at firſt been impriſoned as the paramour of Emma, and was now admitted into the confidence of Charles. The holy prelate heſitated not to imitate the example of his ſuperior the archbiſhop of Rheims; the city of Laon was ſurpriſed by his intelligence, and the arms of Hugh; the duke of Lorrain, with his conſort and the archbiſhop of Rheims, was involved in the general captivity; the two former were diſmiſſed to end their days in an eaſy confinement in the city of Orleans; their ſon was allowed to enjoy the duchy of Lorrain; and his death without a ſon terminated the male line of Charlemagne.

But

But the perfidy of Arnold called for more exemplary puniſhment. The prieſt who opened the gates of Rheims betrayed his truſt, and acknowledged the orders he had received from the archbiſhop. That prelate, by the decree of a council in which the archbiſhop of Sens preſided, was reluctantly condemned; and the favourable inclinations of the preſident and ſeveral other members toward him, were rendered ineffectual by a voluntary ſubſcription to his own confeſſion and degradation: The vacant ſee was beſtowed on Gerbert, a monk of Rheims, celebrated in thoſe days of ignorance for his learning; but the court of Rome reſented with indignation the proceedings which had been adopted without her concurrence. The holy pride of pope John the Fifteenth, diſpatched into France a legate, commiſſioned to reviſe the ſentence. A ſecond council was held at Rheims, and the papal power was gratified by the depoſition of Gerbert, and the reſtoration of Arnold. Yet the guilt of that prelate was not even attempted to be effaced; and he was re-ſeated on the archiepiſcopal throne, becauſe he had been compelled to deſcend from it without the ſanction of the holy ſee. This decree added little to the comforts of Arnold; and Hugh, more apprehenſive of his intrigues than the power of the pope, ſtill detained him priſoner.

The

The authority of the king of France over a turbulent nobility was feeble and precarious; his victory near Poictiers had for a moment checked their inſolence, but it was ſoon diſplayed again in a ſeries of domeſtic wars and bloody commotions. The count of Anjou, a vaſſal of the crown, had in a private quarrel beſieged the city of Tours; the royal mandate commanded him to relinquiſh the lawleſs enterpriſe; his haughty refuſal provoked the meſſenger to the inſulting queſtion of "Who made *him* a count?" The indignant anſwer proclaims the independent ſpirit of the barons: "Tell your maſter, the ſame who made *him* a king." The monarch, ſenſible of his delicate ſituation, and hopeleſs of repreſſing the daring and factious chieftains, ſuffered them to waſte their ſtrength in mutual hoſtilities, and remained an unconcerned ſpectator of their ſanguinary feuds; yet his own meaſures were imperceptibly directed to augment the power of the crown. Paris, under his reign, became the ſeat of government; and under pretence of curbing the incurſions of the Normans, he fortified ſeveral advantageous ſtations, and eſtabliſhed a magazine of arms at Abbeville: The tranquillity in which he paſſed the reſt of his reign muſt be aſcribed to the prudence of his conduct; and near ten years after he aſcended the throne of France, and in the A. D. 991, 997.

fifty-

fifty-ſeventh year of his age, he expired in his capital, leaving his dominions in perfect quiet, and his ſon in peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown.

The character of Hugh Capet is not marked with thoſe commanding features which generally diſtinguiſh the founder of a new dynaſty; but his policy was ſuited to the times in which he lived, and his moderation diſarmed the jealouſy of his powerful peers. Modeſt in his apparel, abſtemious in his diet, and ſimple in his manners, he enjoyed in a palace the comforts of domeſtic life; and his private happineſs was ſecured by the chaſte virtues and amiable qualities of his conſort Adelaide. From the moment that he aſſociated his ſon to the regal authority, he abſtained himſelf from the uſe of the enſigns of royalty; and if ſome praiſe is due to the greatneſs of mind which ſcorned the pageantry of power, more will always be aſcribed to the clemency of a prince who transferred to his family a ſceptre unſtained with blood, and who in an age of violence preſerved the reputation of unblemiſhed humanity.

Few princes ever commenced their reign with more natural advantages than Robert. A. D. 996.

At the deceaſe of his father he was in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age, and the graces of his mind and body have been equally celebrated by the pen of the hiſtorian. The people had already

already been accuſtomed to reſpect him as their monarch; and the prudent maxims of his predeceſſor were imprinted on his mind, and adopted with more than filial veneration. Yet the riſing ſun of his grandeur was darkened by the clouds of private and public anxiety, and he was doomed to regret the ſpiritual dominion of the Roman pontiff, and the inflexible deſpotiſm of the repreſentatives of St. Peter, the ſource of ſo much miſery to himſelf and his ſucceſſors. During his father's life he had contracted a marriage with Bertha, the ſiſter of Rodolph, king of Burgundy, and the widow of Eudes, count of Blois. But the count of Blois was unfortunately related to Hugh Capet, and Robert himſelf had ſtood ſponſor to one of that nobleman's children. Either of theſe reaſons was ſufficient to awaken the convenient conſcience of pope Gregory the Fifth. That prelate, the nephew of Otho the Third, emperor of Germany, affected to maintain and augment the dignity of the holy ſee. In vain did the king of France endeavour to ſoothe him by ſubmiſſion; the thunders of the vatican were continually pointed againſt the inauſpicious nuptials, and although ſuſpended, could not be averted by the depoſition of Gerbert, and the reſtoration of Arnold to the archiepiſcopal throne of Rheims. Without appeaſing the pope he enſured the reſentment

ſentment of Gerbert, who, deprived of his ſee, threw himſelf into the arms of Otho, was created archbiſhop of Ravenna, and aſſiſted at a council which annulled the marriage between Robert and Bertha. The ſentence of excommunication was pronounced; and the monarch, after an ineffectual ſtruggle, was compelled by the clamours of his ſubjects to renounce the partner of his bed, to whom his attachment was the more honourable, as the match was rather ſuggeſted by intereſt than affection: Yet Bertha, without youth or beauty, preſerved an influence over the mind of her huſband, and, deprived of her crown, retained the eſteem and admiration of thoſe who once had revered her as their queen.

The death of pope Gregory the Fifth contributed but little to alleviate the diſtreſs of Robert; Gerbert was raiſed from the ſee of Ravenna to the apoſtolical chair; and the Roman pontiff, though he confirmed Arnold in the poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric of Rheims, refuſed to revoke the proceedings of his predeceſſor; while Robert, deſirous of heirs, eſpouſed Conſtance, the daughter of William, count of Arles. The perſonal charms of the princeſs had inflamed the paſſions of the king; but it was the misfortune of this prince ſcarce to taſte of domeſtic happineſs. His firſt wife, the daughter of Berenger, A. D. 998.

renger, king of Italy, and the widow of Arnold, count of Flanders, was early raviſhed from him by death. The fate of Bertha has been already deſcribed; and the king, after ſeparating from a wife whom he wiſhed to retain, was now compelled to retain a wife from whom he wiſhed to ſeparate. The beauty of Conſtance concealed a mind haughty, vain, and capricious; and the flame that was kindled by her eyes was extinguiſhed by her inſolence and avarice.

For twelve years the ſubjects of France had enjoyed a ſtate of uninterrupted and unwonted tranquillity; but the death of Henry, duke of Burgundy, and the laſt brother of Hugh Capet, was the ſignal for war. His wealthy dominions were diſputed by Eudes, his natural ſon, and to whom he had bequeathed the country of Beauvois; by Otho William, ſurnamed the *Stranger*, the ſon of his widow by her firſt marriage, and whoſe claim was ſupported by a fictitious adoption of the late duke; and by Robert the king of France, who urged his lawful ſucceſſion to the inheritance of his deceaſed uncle. The different pretenſions of the competitors could only be decided by arms; but the forces of Robert were ſtrengthened by the troops of his kinſman, the duke of Normandy. Though repulſed in his firſt attempt on Auxerre, that A. D. 1002. 1008.

town

town afterwards capitulated; its example was followed by Sens; and the walls of Avalon are reported miraculouſly to have fallen before the victor. Yet even the moſt credulous muſt allow that the cruelty of the monarch ill deſerved the interpoſition of Divine Providence; the favour of heaven was ill repaid by the inhumanity of the king; and the wretched inhabitants were doomed to expiate their reſiſtance by exile and death. Six years were conſumed in the gradual reduction of Burgundy; Otho William was compelled to abandon his vain hopes, and to relinquiſh whatever places he had occupied: Eudes acquieſced in the peaceable enjoyment of the country of Beauvois; and Robert, to gratify the Burgundians, deſirous of an independent prince, and to ſoothe his own vaſſals, jealous of their power in the aggrandizement of the crown, beſtowed the duchy on, and inveſted his ſon Henry with the title of duke of Burgundy.

The calamities of a diſtant war were ſcarce felt by the French; but it was with horror they beheld the ravages of a long and deſtructive famine: For five ſucceſſive years the unhappy people groaned beneath that ſcourge of human nature; and although the computation, that one-third of the inhabitants of France periſhed, may be ſwelled beyond the bounds of truth

A. D. 1006, 1016.

or

or probability, it is ſufficient to prove the uncommon violence with which it raged, and the devaſtations that it made. The monarch himſelf was indeed exempted from the immediate danger of his ſubjects; but the ſenſe of perſonal ſecurity was overwhelmed by the public diſtreſs, and Robert was doomed to lament his ineffectual efforts to relieve the miſery of his people.

The palace, inacceſſible to the aſſaults of famine, was pervaded by domeſtic ſtrife and contention; and Robert, to ſoothe the impatient temper of his conſort, was compelled, againſt the advice of his miniſters, to aſſociate to A. D.
the throne his eldeſt ſon Hugh. That 1017, 1022.
unprincipled woman had not heſitated to employ againſt the counſellors who diſſuaded him, the dagger of aſſaſſination; and the king beheld, even in the royal preſence, a faithful ſervant atone with his life for his imprudent integrity. Yet Hugh himſelf was not long inveſted with the regal dignity before he revolted againſt the over-bearing diſpoſition of his mother; accompanied by a band of nobles, attached to him by a parity of years and ſimilarity of temper, he appeared in arms: The queen would willingly have employed force to reduce him; but the king preferred the more lenient mode of remonſtrance, and reclaimed a prince

who never afterwards tranſgreſſed the duty he owed to his parent and his ſovereign.

The character of Robert was ſtamped by the honourable teſtimony of Henry, king of Germany, and his diſcontented ſubjects, the nobles of Lorrain: Theſe agreed to refer their differences to the determination of the king of France; an interview between the two monarchs, on the banks of the Meuſe, adjuſted the terms of reconciliation, and was concluded with mutual, and, perhaps, ſincere profeſſions of eſteem: The more powerful motive of intereſt bound them in a confederacy againſt the arrogance of pope Boniface the Eighth; a ſeaſonable death probably ſaved the Roman pontiff from the mortification of ſubmiſſion; and the year following was diſtinguiſhed by the deceaſe of Henry. The nobles of Italy, tired of a long ſucceſſion of German emperors, offered the imperial dignity to Robert; but the ſplendid propoſal, which the prudence and moderation of the king of France declined, was haſtily and improvidently accepted by William, duke of Guienne; that powerful noble was ſoon reduced to lament his own indiſcretion, and the fickle diſpoſition of the Italians. On the appearance of Conrad, who had ſucceeded to the throne of Germany, the natives of Italy, with their accuſtomed levity, flocked to his

A. D. 1023, 1025.

his banner; the imperial crown was placed on his head by pope John the Nineteenth, and William was forced to retire before the arms of his ſucceſsful competitor.

Whatever ſatisfaction Robert might derive from the ſituation of public affairs, was continually embittered by a ſeries of domeſtic diſcord and calamity: His feelings, as a A. D. 1026. parent, were wounded by the premature death of his eldeſt ſon Hugh, with whom he had divided the regal title, and whoſe virtues he was acquainted with and eſteemed; his happineſs, as a huſband, was continually broken by the imperious diſpoſition of his conſort. On the death of Hugh it was natural that he ſhould aſſociate his next ſon, Henry, to the dignity which he had imparted to his deceaſed brother; but the juſtice of this nomination was oppoſed with indecent warmth and obſtinacy by Conſtance; and her partiality for her younger ſon, Robert, agitated the court with all the fury of contending factions. Yet the ſecret art of intrigue, the open violence of the queen, in vain aſſailed the inflexible integrity of the king; the rights of primogeniture were reſpected; in an aſſembly at Rheims Henry received the crown from the impartial juſtice of his father; and Robert, his younger brother, re-

fuſing to join in the daring meaſures of Conſtance, became equally the object of her hatred and perſecution.

The two princes, harraſſed by the inceſſant enmity of their mother, retired from court, and entered into an alliance for their mutual defence; the eldeſt poſſeſſed himſelf of the caſtle of Dreux, the younger occupied the city of Avalon, in the duchy of Burgundy. The unnatural paſſions of a female had already kindled the torch of civil commotion, and the gloomy flame was beheld with horror throughout the kingdom of France: At the head of a numerous army Robert advanced to reduce his revolted ſons; but his march was interrupted by the remonſtrances of William, abbot of St. Benigne; the affectionate parent readily liſtened to the repreſentations of the pious prieſt; he was ſoon convinced that the princes, inſtead of arming againſt his authority, ſought only protection againſt the active hatred of their mother. The moment of explanation was that of ſubmiſſion on one ſide, and pardon on the other; the ſons were again reſtored to the confidence of their father, and the force which had been aſſembled to extinguiſh the diſſentions of his family, was happily employed by Robert in humbling the haughty nobles

A. D. 1027, 1030.

nobles of Burgundy, who had preſumed to withhold the homage due to their ſovereign.

A reign of almoſt inceſſant proſperity, a life of ſucceſſive domeſtic miſery, were cloſed by the expedition into Burgundy; and three and thirty years from his aſcending the throne, and in the ſixtieth year of his age, Robert expired at Melun, amidſt the tears and lamentations of his ſubjects. A.D. 1031. His own prudence and moderation contributed to, and almoſt enſured the public happineſs which ſo honourably diſtinguiſhed his adminiſtration; and the virtues which he diſplayed in private, might have ſecured him the enjoyment of domeſtic comfort with a temper leſs arrogant and turbulent than that of his conſort; but amidſt the ſplendor of a palace, the monarch was often induced to envy the condition of the meaneſt peaſant; and the loſs of Bertha was aggravated by the poſſeſſion of Conſtance. The rigour with which he puniſhed, in the reduction of Burgundy, the obſtinate reſiſtance of the inhabitants of Avalon, had caſt a ſlight ſhade on a reign of unprecedented clemency; and a people whoſe annals hitherto have diſplayed almoſt a conſtant ſucceſſion of ſanguinary and ferocious princes, might well exclaim on the death of Robert: "We have loſt a father who governed us in "peace; beneath whoſe authority we dwelt in

" ſecurity; who ſuffered not in others that op-
" preſſion which he himſelf diſdained; who com-
" manded our affections, and who baniſhed our
" fears."

To the crown of Robert ſucceeded his eldeſt ſon Henry, who, at the age of twenty-ſeven, poſſeſſed with the vigour of youth the prudence and wiſdom of age; yet theſe qualities were ſcarce ſufficient to ſecure his authority, and the implacable enmity of his mother ſhook his throne to the very foundation. At her imperious voice the flames of diſcord blazed with redoubled fury: Ambition prompted the count of Flanders, and intereſt induced the count of Champagne, to ſupport the pretenſions of Robert againſt the claim of his elder brother. To Eudes, the count of Champagne, was relinquiſhed by the confederates half the city of Sens, as the price of his alliance; and that city, with Melun, Soiſſons, and the adjacent towns, were either reduced by force, or occupied by intrigue. Henry, aſtoniſhed, and incapable of reſiſting the torrent, eſcaped with only twelve faithful followers into Normandy, and, deſerted by his ſubjects, threw himſelf on the generous friendſhip of duke Robert. The liberal compaſſion of his protector juſtified his choice, and the treaſures and forces of Normandy were devoted to his ſervice: On one ſide, the

A. D. 1031.

Normans,

Normans, commanded by the duke in perſon, ſpread deſtruction through the kingdom; and the country, which was blaſted at his approach, ſanctioned the ſurname of Devil, which the terrified inhabitants annexed to that of Robert: On the other ſide, the king himſelf thrice defeated the count of Champagne, who eſcaped with difficulty the purſuit of the victor. The tempeſt at length was huſhed by the mediation of Fulk, count of Anjou; Conſtance ſunk beneath the pangs of diſappointed rage; prince Robert was gratified with the duchy of Burgundy; the ſubmiſſion of the counts of Flanders and Champagne was imitated by the reſt of the vaſſals of the crown; but the gratitude of Henry diſmembered the kingdom he had regained; and the ſervices of the duke of Normandy were repaid by the duchies of Giſors, Chaumont, and Pontoiſe, and that part of the Vexin which had hitherto belonged to the dominions of France.

To the enterpriſes of war ſucceeded a negociation of marriage; and Henry, peaceably eſtabliſhed on the thone, contracted himſelf to Matilda, the daughter of Conrad, who ſwayed the imperial ſceptre with courage and prudence. Yet the hiſtorians more than doubt the conſummation of theſe nuptials; and in about ten years afterwards we find Henry eſpouſed A. D. 1032, 1036.

to Anne, a daughter of Jeroſolaus, great prince or duke of Ruſſia, and who claimed her auguſt deſcent from the dynaſty of Baſil, the Roman emperors of the Eaſt. The death of Rodolph, who, with the title of king, ruled that part of Burgundy which comprehended the countries of Swiſſerland and Savoy, the counties of La Breſſe, Dauphiné, and the Lyonnois, kindled a war between Eudes, count of Champagne, and the emperor Conrad, who each claimed the ſucceſſion, and ſupported their pretenſions by arms; but Eudes was compelled to yield to the ſuperior force of his rival, and, driven out of Burgundy, entered Lorrain, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Bar. Before he could improve this advantage he was encountered by Gothelon, duke of Lorrain; the defeat of the count of Champagne was rendered deciſive by his death; and king Henry and the emperor Conrad might mutually rejoice in the deſtruction of a turbulent vaſſal and an enterpriſing neighbour.

But although Eudes was no more, his ſpirit ſurvived in his two ſons, Thibaud, count of Beauſſe, Touraine, and Beauvois; and Stephen, count of Champagne. Theſe rejected with diſdain the ſervile duty of homage, and excited Eudes, the third and youngeſt brother of the king, and who had been left without

A. D. 1037.

territories

territories or eſtabliſhment, to fortify their cauſe with his name. The forces of the confederates were routed by the royal army; Eudes himſelf was taken priſoner, and ſecured at Orleans; the pardon of Thibaud was purchaſed at the expence of Touraine; the count of Champagne was happy to eſcape by the ceſſion of a conſiderable part of his territory; but Galeran, count of Meulan, who had joined the ſtandard of unſucceſsful rebellion, was formally attainted; and the forfeiture of his property and life, the firſt example of the kind mentioned in hiſtory, proclaims the power which the crown had imperceptibly acquired.

The faſhionable ſuperſtition of the times had impreſſed the minds of men with the merit of pilgrimages to the Holy Land; the martial ſpirit and gallantry of the Normans were peculiarly inflamed with this adventurous ſpecies of devotion; and Robert, duke of Normandy, aſſuming the pious garb of a pilgrim, prepared to viſit the ſacred ſepulchre of Jeruſalem. His ſubjects had acknowledged as his heir his ſon William, whoſe regular pretenſions were obſtructed by the illegitimacy of his birth; and the young duke was recommended by his father to the gratitude of Henry, king of France, and to the care of Alain, duke of Brittany. But the nobles of Normandy diſdained the feeble rule of an infant; A. D. 1037.

and

and the helpleſs years of the future conqueror of England were inſulted and contemned by his reſtleſs and turbulent barons. The duke of Brittany in vain endeavoured to reſtore the general tranquillity; his faint entreaties were diſregarded; and a ſlow poiſon, (ſuch is the account of the hiſtorians of that age) which haſtened his retreat and gradually undermined his conſtitution, was the reward of his ineffectual mediation. The king of France was actuated by more politic but leſs honourable motives; with a numerous army he invaded the defenceleſs frontiers, conſumed with fire the town of Argentan, and occupied the important fortreſs of Tilleres.

The public diſorders were increaſed by the in-
A. D. 1037, 1046. telligence, that duke Robert, on his return from the Holy Land, had expired at Nice. The miniſters who yet preſerved their fidelity unſhaken, and who watched over the tender years of duke William, determined to implore the protection of the king of France: They conjured him by the memory of his own diſtreſs to repay the obligations he had received from the father to the ſon. The ſuggeſtions of intereſt were vanquiſhed or ſuſpended by the emotions of ſhame or gratitude, and Henry declared his reſolution of vindicating the inſulted authority of the Norman prince; his friendſhip, though tranſient,

was

was ardent and effectual; he once more paſſed the frontiers, and at the valley of Dunes, between Caen and Argentan, encountered the revolted barons. The rebels maintained their ground with obſtinate valour; the king himſelf was expoſed to imminent danger, and, thrown from his horſe in the violence of the charge, was only preſerved by the immediate ſuccour of his attendants: But his victory was glorious and deciſive, and the battle of Dunes fixed the ſceptre in the hands of the duke of Normandy.

The acquiſitions of the Normans were not confined to their ſettlements in France; and under different leaders their arms penetrated into the fertile regions of Italy, eſtabliſhed an independent ſovereignty in Apulia, and ſoon afterwards embraced the kingdom of Naples, and reduced to their obedience the iſland of Sicily. Whether their progreſs in Apulia had alarmed the vigilant Henry, or that he early diſcerned the lofty genius and unbounded ambition of William, that monarch ſoon after violated the friendſhip he had newly profeſſed, and ſeemed conſtantly to repent of the aſſiſtance he had afforded to the duke of Normandy. William de Arques, count of Thouloufe, and ſon by a ſecond marriage of Richard the Second, who preceded, as duke of Normandy, Robert, ſurnamed the Devil, no longer concealed

concealed his pretenſions to the ducal title: He was powerfully ſupported by his bro-
A. D. 1047. ther, Mauger, archbiſhop of Rouen; and privately at firſt, and afterwards publicly, by Henry of France. But this formidable confederacy, which was ſtrengthened by the counts of Poitou and Anjou, was broken by the auſpicious genius of William the Baſtard. The army with which Henry had threatened to expel him from Normandy was compelled to retreat with diſgrace; a conſiderable detachment, in the march towards Rouen, had incautiouſly preſſed before the main body; between Eſcoucy and Mortimer, their negligence was chaſtiſed by the arms of the Normans; and few eſcaped to relate the melancholy fate of their companions: Henry himſelf with the remainder of his forces retired towards Paris, indignant at his diſgrace, and impatient to efface his defeat by the deſtruction of his rival; while William, who had triumphed over his revolted ſubjects, was equally determined to purſue with eternal enmity the perfidy of the French monarch.

That prince had formed a new alliance with Martel, count of Anjou, and engaged again to invade the territories of the Norman; his preparations were ſuitable to the greatneſs of the
A. D. 1054. enterpriſe; and two armies, which he had diligently levied, threatened the deſtruction

deſtruction of the young duke: The one was led by Henry in perſon; the other he entruſted to his brother Eudes, whom he had releaſed for that purpoſe from priſon. But the ſuperior number of his troops ſerved only to augment his confuſion; thoſe led by himſelf were continually harraſſed, and repeatedly ſurpriſed; while the army commanded by his brother was defeated in a deciſive action with cruel ſlaughter. Preſſed or broken on every ſide, the French were compelled haſtily to evacuate a country which they had unjuſtly invaded; and the terms of peace, which ſoon after followed, were dictated by the victorious duke of Normandy.

The age of the king, which ſcarce exceeded fifty-five years, allowed him to hope a long continuance of his reign; but his conſtitution was viſibly impaired; his late defeat probably preyed upon his mind; and ſenſible of his approaching diſſolution he determined to provide for the tranquillity of the kingdom by the aſſociation of the heir to the throne. Of his three ſons by Anne, the grand-daughter of Wolodomir, great duke of Ruſſia, Philip, the eldeſt, then only about ſeven years of age, was ſolemnly crowned at Rheims by the archbiſhop of that city. His tender youth did not exempt him from reading and ſubſcribing a declaration, in which he promiſes, "in the pre-

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"fence of God and the ſaints," to reſpect and defend the clergy in their privileges and immunities; to obſerve the laws and to adminiſter juſtice; and equitably to rule the people entruſted to his government. But anxious for the future welfare of his ſon, the precaution of Henry, named Baldwin, count of Flanders, as the guardian of his infancy, in caſe he himſelf ſhould not be indulged with the ſatisfaction of beholding him attain the vigour of manhood. His fears were juſt; in the Auguſt following the coronation of Philip, Henry breathed his laſt, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. His own indiſcretion, perhaps, haſtened his end; and the injudicious uſe of medicine is ſuppoſed to have accelerated the progreſs of diſeaſe; but the imputation of poiſon could only exiſt in a credulous age, invariably deſirous of aſcribing the death of every ſovereign to the effects of ſecret fraud or open violence.

Prudent in peace, and intrepid in war, the character of this monarch is chiefly ſtained by his ungenerous attempt againſt the feeble youth of the duke of Normandy; and the injuſtice of the enterpriſe did not ſerve to reconcile him to the mortification of defeat; yet the firmneſs with which he reſiſted the encroaching ſpirit of the pope has merited the praiſe of the hiſtorian, and

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ought to have been imitated by his ſucceſſors. Leo the Ninth had entered France, and in a council held at Rheims had degraded ſeveral biſhops contrary to the inclinations of the king; pope Nicholas the Second was deſirous of treading in the footſteps of his predeceſſor; but he in vain ſolicited the conſent of Henry to a ſimilar viſit, who ſtedfaſtly declined the proffered honour; and the Roman pontiff, after a fruitleſs negociation, was compelled to relinquiſh the impracticable deſign.

Chapter

Chapter the Sixth.

BALDWIN, COUNT OF FLANDERS, IS APPOINTED REGENT OF FRANCE. — CONQUEST OF ENGLAND BY WILLIAM, DUKE OF NORMANDY. — REIGN OF PHILIP. — ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST CRUSADE. — DEATH OF PHILIP, AND ACCESSION OF LEWIS THE SIXTH, SURNAMED THE GROSS. — HIS REIGN AND DEATH.

ON the deceaſe of Henry, the regency of the ſtate and the protection of his infant ſon might naturally have been expected by the widow and brother of the late monarch; Anne, indeed, might have aſſerted her indefeaſible right over her child; nor were there examples, wanting in which the reins of adminiſtration had, during a minority, been committed to the hands of a female; but Henry had conſidered that princeſs was a ſtranger, and that ſhe was ill qualified to control the impatient ſpirits of a haughty nobility with whom ſhe was but little acquainted. Anne, in ſilence, acquieſced in his deciſion, and beſtowed her hand on Raoul, count of Valois, after whoſe death ſhe retired to her native climate of Ruſſia.

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If Henry prudently deemed his conſort unequal to the toils of government, it was with a different eye he regarded his brother, Robert, duke of Burgundy. The abilities of that prince were acknowledged and dreaded; his power was already formidable; his influence with the nobles of France conſiderable; he had once already aſpired to the crown; and it was to be feared if placed ſo near, his ambition might be revived, and his hand again ſtretched forth to ſeize it. But Baldwin, count of Flanders, was free from every objection, and poſſeſſed every quality which could recommend him to this important truſt; his valour was tempered by caution, his vigilance was joined with a noble frankneſs: The guardian of the crown, and the friend of the people, he protected the prerogative of the firſt without infringing the rights of the laſt; without endeavouring to oppreſs the nobles he reſtrained them in due ſubjection, and maintained peace by his preparations for war. The people of Aquitain had preſumed on the youth of their ſovereign; they were chaſtiſed by the arm of Baldwin; and the anxious guardian, amidſt the complicated cares of government, neglected not to beſtow upon his royal pupil ſuch an education as might contribute to his own happineſs and that of the people over whom he was deſtined to reign.

Yet the adminiſtration of Baldwin has not entirely eſcaped cenſure; and it has been imputed to him as an inexcuſable error, that he ſuffered ſo dangerous a neighbour as the duke of Normandy to extend the limits of his dominions, and to atchieve the important conqueſt of England. Perhaps he was influenced by a natural regard for a prince who had married his daughter; perhaps he dreaded his enterpriſing ſpirit, and was willing to ſecure the immediate tranquillity of the country he ruled, by diverting the ſtream of conqueſt another way. Whatever were his motives, the conſequences were fatal; and the ſplendid acquiſition was attended with a ſeries of bloody and deſtructive wars, which always contributed to exhauſt, and frequently threatened to ſubvert the monarchy of France.

It is the obſervation of the celebrated hiſtorian of the reign of the emperor Charles the Fifth, "that whoever records the tranſactions of the "more conſiderable European ſtates during the "two laſt centuries, muſt write the hiſtory of "Europe." The remark, which does honour to his judgment, may, in regard to France and England, be extended to a more early period; and from the union of the latter kingdom with Normandy, the wars and negociations of the French and Engliſh have been indiſſolubly blended, and form

form one great and complicated ſyſtem of politics. So intimate a connection not only juſtifies, but demands an haſty ſketch of the circumſtances which illuſtrate this memorable event.

The Roman government was ſcarce diſſolved in Britain before the iſland was ſuddenly and ſucceſſively afflicted by the ſword of the Scots and the Picts, the Danes and the Saxons: The conqueſts of the latter were permanent; and ſeven independent thrones, the Saxon heptarchy, were founded by the victors. Theſe, in the courſe of little more than three revolving centuries, were united under Egbert; and the ſceptre, when firſt aſpired to by William, was feebly and irreſolutely ſwayed by Edward the Third, ſurnamed the Confeſſor. The partiality of that monarch for the Norman might countenance the report that he had bequeathed to him his throne. The mother of Edward was Emma, the ſiſter of Richard of Normandy; and when the Britiſh prince was compelled to fly before the ſword of the Danes, he found a ſafe and hoſpitable retreat in the Norman court. The ties of blood and gratitude attached him to his kinſman and protector; and it is probable that he would readily have preferred him to an ambitious ſubject, whoſe father was ſtained with the royal blood of his brother, and whoſe own popularity was hateful in the eyes of the

king. But when Edward breathed his laſt, William was diſtant in Normandy, and the vacant throne was occupied by Harold, the ſon of earl Goodwin.

The impatient ſpirit of William ſcorned to diſſemble his ſenſe of the injury, and his ambition permitted him not to relinquiſh his lofty hopes. In a formal embaſſy he demanded the ſceptre which Harold had ſeized; and the refuſal was attended with a denunciation of war. A powerful armament was equipped in the ports of Normandy; and while Harold was engaged in the North in repelling the invaſion of Harfager, king of Norway, William ſailed from St. Valery, and
A. D. 1066. landed at Pevenſey on the coaſt of Suſſex. From a glorious victory over Harfager, Harold was recalled to encounter this more formidable rival. The fatal battle was fought on the fourteenth of October, about ſeven miles from Haſtings; and the native valour of the Engliſh was unequally oppoſed to the diſcipline and artful evolutions of the Normans. A random arrow pierced the brain of Harold, and the remnant of the Engliſh army, after the death of their gallant leader, was only preſerved from the purſuit of the Normans by the friendly darkneſs of the night. The fall of Harold eſtabliſhed the victory and fortune of William; and the ſceptre

tre of Britain, which for ſix hundred years had been ſucceſſively ſwayed by a Saxon, was in one deciſive day transferred to the hand of a Norman.

The death of Baldwin, count of Flanders, ſoon ſucceeded the invaſion and conqueſt of England; and in the fifteenth year of his age his royal pupil aſſumed the peaceable adminiſtration of his dominions. The able miniſters who had been promoted by the penetration of Baldwin, were no longer ſuffered to guide the councils of Philip; and the beginning of his various reign was equally characterized by activity, as the concluſion of it was by indolence. The territories of Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, were diſputed by his two ſons, Geoffrey and Fulk; and the incautious integrity of the former was enſnared by the perfidious artifices of the latter: Yet, although Fulk was at firſt menaced with the reſentment of the king of France, the emotions of juſtice were ſoon ſacrificed to the ſuggeſtions of intereſt; the anger of Philip was diſarmed by a ſhare in the ſpoils; and on the ceſſion of the Gaſtinois, the younger brother was permitted to retain in peace the inheritance of which he had fraudently deprived his elder. A. D. 1067.

The care of Baldwin had imbued the mind of Philip with every royal ſcience, and the maſters he had provided had fitted his body for the

martial exerciſes of a warlike age; but the heart had reſiſted the admonitions of the virtuous tutor; and as Philip advanced in years, his ſubjects diſcerned, with a capacity which might have enſured their happineſs, a diſpoſition which menaced them with the inceſſant calamities of war. The love of glory, the vice of great minds, never found entrance into the boſom of Philip; but throughout his reign he diſplayed in every enterpriſe the invariable features of treachery with the propenſity of inſatiate avarice. He had deſerted, not much to his reputation, the cauſe of Geoffrey, to partake the crime and plunder of Fulk; but in a diſpute reſpecting the ſucceſſion to the territory of the late regent, he ſtained his character with the meaneſt perfidy and the blackeſt ingratitude. Baldwin and Robert were the two ſons of Baldwin; the former and elder inherited from him his dignity with the principality of Flanders; the latter and younger, the title with the country of Frize: But Baldwin, diſcontented with his own ſhare, beheld with envy the domain of his brother. With a numerous army he invaded the province of Robert, and his own death in battle was the conſequence of the unnatural enterpriſe: The victor ſeized on Flanders, and the widow of the deceaſed count, with her two ſons, Arnold and Baldwin, ſought ſhelter from the tempeſt in the court of Philip.

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She was received by that monarch with every mark of reſpect, and with every profeſſion of regard. To reſtore her ſons, with a numerous army he entered Flanders; but in a deciſive battle near St. Omers the French were defeated, and the young count, Arnold, periſhed in the action. This check cooled the ardour of Philip, and he from that moment abandoned the cauſe of the widow and the orphan. Their diſtreſs induced them to apply to Henry the Third of Germany, and his compaſſion aſſured them of his protection, and induced him to arm in their ſupport. Hope once more ſmiled upon the youthful Baldwin; but the proſpect was ſoon darkened by the intrigues of Philip. He had engaged to marry Bertha, the daughter of the counteſs of Frize, by a former huſband, and to maintain her preſent in the poſſeſſion of the dominions he had uſurped. The feeble efforts of Baldwin were overwhelmed by the united force of the confederates; he was compelled to acquieſce in the diſtrict, with the title of count of Hainault, and to leave his uncle in the peaceable enjoyment of Flanders.

With equal ſucceſs Philip encountered the arms of William, who had exchanged, by the acquiſition of England, the oppro- A. D. 1075. brious diſtinction of Baſtard for the honourable ſurname of Conqueror. With an army of his

new ſubjects, that prince had traverſed the ſea to reduce Hoel, duke of Brittany, who had refuſed to yield him homage. But the firſt place that he beſieged was witneſs of his diſgrace; and with the loſs of his baggage the king of England was obliged to retire before the fortune of his royal rival. The conditions of peace were dictated by Philip; and his mind, naturally preſumptuous, was inflated by the advantage he obtained. Robert, the eldeſt ſon of the conqueror, had violated the duty he owed to his parent and ſovereign, and erected the ſtandard of revolt in Normandy. He was privately encouraged by Philip, who beſtowed on him the town of Gerberoi, in the Beavoiſins; in that place he was inveſted by William. In a ſally from the town Robert diſplayed the hereditary valour of his race; his lance transfixed the thickeſt ranks of the beſiegers, and unhorſed William himſelf. The king of England would have periſhed by the hand of his ſon, had not his voice revealed his perſon and danger: The aſtoniſhed Robert, ſtruck with horror at the crime which impended over him, raiſed the fallen monarch from the ground, and mounted him on his own horſe. The pardon of his father was the reward of his gallantry and penitence; and Philip affected to rejoice at a reconciliation which it was no longer in his power to prevent.

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For ſome years the animoſity of the monarchs was happily for their ſubjects ſuſpended. It was again kindled by a jeſt of Philip: The corpulency of the king of England, who was indiſpoſed, provoked the obſervation, "Although William "is ſo long lying-in, I doubt, when he comes "abroad he will be as big as ever." The retort of the Norman was an alluſion to the cuſtom of carrying lights by women when churched: "It "will not be long before I go abroad, and let "Philip know, that ſo many lights ſhall be "carried at my churching as ſhall enlighten all "France, and make him repent of his jeſt." The menace was rigorouſly fulfilled ſoon after; William landed in France with a formidable army, poſſeſſed himſelf by aſſault of the town of Mantes, and delivered it to the flames; but as the victor endeavoured to retire from the heat of the fire, his horſe, in leaping over a ditch, threw him on the pummel of the ſaddle; the contuſion proved mortal, and William the Conqueror in a A. D. 1087. ſhort time after expired at Rouen.

The death of that prince delivered Philip from a formidable enemy, and the dominions of the deceaſed monarch were conteſted by his three ſons. Of theſe, the ſecond, William, ſurnamed Rufus, by the dying breath of his father was recommended to the throne of England; but for the poſſeſ-

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ſion of it he was probably more indebted to the attachment of Eudes, the miniſter of the late king, who delivered into his hands the royal treaſures, than to the favourable opinion of a ſovereign who never had acquired the affections of his ſubjects. Robert, the eldeſt, ſucceeded to Normandy and Maine; and to Henry was only bequeathed a ſum of money. Yet Rufus, not content with the crown he had raviſhed from the expectations of Robert, invaded ſoon after the duchy of Normandy: The latter was faintly ſupported by Philip of France; and by the ceſſion of Eu, Feſcamp, and Cherbourg, purA. D. 1091. chaſed a diſadvantageous peace, which permitted him to retain the ſcanty remnant of his dominions.

The intereſt of Philip had ſuggeſted to him a marA. D. riage with the daughter of the counteſs 1091, 1095. of Flanders; but two ſons and a daughter, the iſſue of thoſe nuptials, could not reſtrain the fickle monarch from divorcing Bertha from his ſide: A diſtant and doubtful degree of conſanguinity afforded the pretence; and the unhappy princeſs, baniſhed to Montreuil, expired of a broken heart. The king of France demanded next in marriage Emma, the daughter of count Roger, the brother of the duke of Calabria: The lady, richly adorned with jewels and liberally portioned,

tioned, was eſcorted to the French court; nor is it without a bluſh the hiſtorian records that Emma was diſmiſſed, and her fortune retained. The paſſions of Philip had been inflamed by Bertrade de Montfort, the wife of Fulk of Anjou, who with the aſſiſtance of the king had ſupplanted his elder brother Geoffrey: The vanity of a licentious woman was gratified by the addreſſes of a royal lover; and the counteſs heſitated not to forſake the bed of an aged and moroſe huſband and to follow her paramour to Orleans. The aſcendancy ſhe obtained over the affections of Philip was diſplayed in his ſubſequent conduct; he determined to ſolemnize a marriage which was doomed invariably to embitter his future days. The ceremony was performed by Eudes, biſhop of Bayeaux, in the preſence of the biſhop of Senlis and the archbiſhop of Rouen. But ſo flagrant a violation of every moral and civil tie, could not eſcape the cenſure of pope Urban the Second. In a council held at Autun, a ſentence of excommunication was pronounced againſt the king unleſs he parted with Bertrade: His ready promiſe of ſubmiſſion averted, or rather ſuſpended, the thunders of the vatican; his perſeverance in his criminal enjoyments once more arouſed them; and in a ſecond council, aſſembled at Clermont, with the acquieſcence of the clergy of France,

Philip

Philip was again ſubjected to the penalties of excommunication.

It was in this council that Urban firſt preached the ſacred ſervice of the cruſades, and awakened the martial nations of Europe to the deliverance of the Holy Land. His audience had already been prepared by the enthuſiaſtic eloquence of Peter the Hermit, and the contagious zeal ſpread through perſons of all ranks and all denominations. To uſe the words of the princeſs Anna Comnena, all Europe torn up from the foundation ſeemed ready to precipitate itſelf in one united body on Aſia. The vehement exhortations of the Roman pontiff were interrupted by the ſhouts of thouſands, who with one voice, and in their ruſtic idiom, exclaimed aloud, "God wills it, "God wills it." "It is indeed the will of God," replied the pope, "and let this memorable word, "the inſpiration ſurely of the holy ſpirit, be for "ever adopted as your cry in battle, to animate "the devotion and courage of the champions of "Chriſt; his croſs is the ſymbol of your ſal-"tion; wear it, a red, a bloody croſs, as an "external mark, on your breaſts or ſhoulders, as "a pledge of your ſacred and irrevocable en-"gagement." The propoſal was joyfully accepted; great numbers, both of the clergy and the laity, impreſſed on their garments the ſign of

A. D. 1095.

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the croſs, and ſolicited the pope to march at their head. This dangerous honour was declined by the prudent ſucceſſor of St. Peter, who alleged the duties of his paſtoral office; recommending to the faithful, who were diſqualified by ſex or profeſſion, by age or infirmity, to aid with their prayers and alms the perſonal ſervice of their robuſt brethren. After the confeſſion and abſolution of their ſins, the champions of the croſs were diſmiſſed with a ſuperfluous admonition to invite their countrymen and friends; and their departure to the Holy Land was fixed tothe feſtival of the Aſſumption, the fifteenth of Auguſt of the enſuing year.

That day was anticipated by a thoughtleſs crowd of plebeians, who, to the number of above ſixty thouſand of both ſexes, preſſed with clamorous importunity Peter the Hermit to lead them to the holy ſepulchre. The Hermit, aſſuming the character without the talents or authority of a general, impelled or obeyed the forward impulſe of his votaries along the banks of the Danube and the Rhine. The footſteps of Peter were followed by the monk Godeſcal, whoſe ſermons had ſwept away fifteen or twenty thouſand peaſants from the villages of Germany. The rear was cloſed with two hundred thouſand of the refuſe of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal licence of rapine, proſti- A. D. 1096.

tution,

tution, and drunkenneſs. Of this motley crew, the greater part ſunk beneath the fatigues of their march, and the accumulated preſſure of hunger and thirſt; the remainder, who had endured and ſurmounted the difficulties and diſtreſs of their long and tedious pilgrimage, had ſcarce refreſhed their waſted bodies with the hoſpitable plenty of Conſtantinople, before their impatience urged them headlong againſt the Turks: Their imprudence betrayed them into the ſnares of the ſultan of Nice; and Peter the Hermit, ſecurely ſheltered in the Byzantine court, might lament the fate of his improvident companions, and expect the arrival of their more grave and noble brethren.

Among theſe, the firſt rank, both in war and council, was juſtly due to Godfrey of Bouillon, who in the hour of victory was elevated to the tranſient throne of Jeruſalem. With him was joined in the holy enterpriſe, Hugh, count of Vermandois, the brother of the king of France; and Robert, duke of Normandy, whoſe intrepid ſpirit and fickle diſpoſition equally prompted him to embrace an expedition endeared by the proſpect of danger and novelty. For the trifling ſum of ten thouſand marks he mortgaged Normandy during his abſence to Rufus, who had already defrauded him of the crown of England; and the inconſiderable pittance which he had raiſed at the expence

expence of the ſcanty remnant of his father's ample territory, was freely dedicated to the ſervice in which he embarked. But the devout example and holy zeal of their brothers, could not kindle this flame in the worldly and licentious boſoms of William and Philip: The former was diligently engaged in extending the terror of his arms, and the limits of his dominions, by ſucceſſive expeditions in Scotland, Wales, and the county of Maine; the latter aſſiduouſly laboured with Bertrade in the purſuit of pleaſure. But their hours of dalliance were frequently interrupted by the awful voice of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter; and the admonitions of the Roman pontiff were followed by the tremendous thunder of papal indignation. His lawleſs commerce with the counteſs of Anjou demanded the chaſtiſement of the ſpiritual father; and the penalties of excommunication were a third time denounced againſt Philip. The profligacy of the monarch ſeldom fails to pollute the minds of his people; and the powerful vaſſals of the crown were eager to imitate the amorous conduct of their ſovereign, while they inſulted his dignity and contemned his authority.

The difficulties which embarraſſed the indolent and infatuated king, were in part diſſi- A. D.
pated by the death of Bertha his queen, 1096, 1100.
and by the acquieſcence of the count of Anjou.

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Yet Fulk reluctantly consented to exchange an abandoned woman for the treasures of royalty; and the ascendancy which Bertrade maintained to the last over the surly mind of that haughty chief, may in some measure impress us with an idea of her charms, and account for her influence over the amorous soul of Philip. A partial absolution was by flattery and presents tardily obtained from the pope; and the eternal separation from Bertrade was constantly stipulated, and as constantly eluded.

While Philip reposed in the arms of beauty, his kingdom was doomed by her miseries to atone for the vices of the sovereign. The barons once more affected the tone of independence, and their private quarrels were frequently decided in a field of battle; on each side the indignant chiefs collected their partizans, and maintained their exclusive jurisdiction within their respective territories: The scenes of anarchy and civil commotion from which France had been rescued by the prudence of Hugh Capet and his successors, were again presented in every province; and the dignity of the crown, which had been degraded by the follies of the father, was restored by the virtues of the son. The distress of Philip compelled him to associate to the throne, Lewis, the eldest issue of his marriage with Bertha: At

A. D. 1102.

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the early age of twenty years the prince diſplayed a degree of prudence which is ſeldom attained, even by the experience of mature wiſdom; affable, vigilant and active, he commanded the reſpect of his people as much by his private qualities as by his public meaſures. With a ſmall but well diſciplined body of troops he continually kept the field, and over-awed the nobles who had diſdained the authority of his father. He razed their caſtles, redreſſed the injuries of their dependants, and compelled them to relinquiſh the lands which they had raviſhed from the church. The Banks of the Seine and the Loire alternately atteſted his indefatigable promptitude; and the preſumption of a haughty nobility was repreſſed and chaſtiſed by a cautious, yet enterpriſing prince. Early affianced to the daughter of Guy, the count of Rochefort, that marriage was oppoſed, and declared null by the Roman pontiff, Paſcal the Second. The father reſented the facility with which Lewis acquieſced in the determination of the pope; and encouraged by Thibaud, count of Champagne, erected the ſtandard of revolt, plundered the defenceleſs traders of the country, and ſecured his ſpoils in the caſtle of Gournai.

But Lewis was not to be inſulted with impunity; with the troops which he could moſt readily aſſemble, he advanced to- A. D. 1103, 1104.

wards Gournai, paſſed the river at the head of his cavalry in perſon, and inveſted the hoſtile caſtle. The confederates determined to riſk a battle for the preſervation of the fortreſs; and the counts of Rochefort and Champagne, at the head of their numerous friends, preſſed towards the Maine. Lewis having ſecured his camp againſt the ſallies of the beſiegers, heſitated not to encounter the ſuperior numbers of his adverſaries. His confidence in his own valour, and that of his ſoldiers, was rewarded by a ſignal victory: The formidable confederacy was inſtantly diſſolved; and Gournai, which had ſurrendered to the prince, was transferred by the victor to a different family.

However the abilities of Lewis might contri-
A. D. 1105. bute to his own glory, and to the relief of his father, they ſubjected him to the hatred and perſecution of Bertrade; his genius and fortune obſtructed the royal hopes of her own ſons, whom ſhe ſtill flattered herſelf might, if that prince was removed, ſucceed to the throne. The eaſy king was perſuaded to gratify a miſtreſs whom he loved, at the expence of a ſon whom he muſt have eſteemed; and to avoid the dangerous enmity of his mother-in-law, Lewis obtained permiſſion to viſit England. He was received by Henry (who on the death of his brother William Rufus

Rufus had poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty of that iſland, to the excluſion of William of Normandy) with every mark of reſpect: Even here, if we can credit the teſtimony of concurring hiſtorians, the unabated malice of Bertrade purſued him; and by a letter ſubſcribed with the name of Philip, the king of England was requeſted to retain his gueſt in confinement, or extinguiſh the dread of his return by death. The virtue of Henry ſpurned at a propoſal, which inſulted his own honour; his horror of the crime was diſplayed in his tender regard of Lewis; to that prince he delivered the letter which contained the fatal ſecret. In vain did the injured Lewis demand on his return that juſtice to which he was ſo eminently entitled, both from a father and a ſovereign: Theſe duties were overwhelmed by the fatal paſſion for Bertrade; and the king was content with diſowning the ſignature, without endeavouring to diſcover or to puniſh the authors of the impoſture.

But the rage of a diſappointed woman was not to be checked by ſhame, or controlled by the dread of puniſhment: Her former attempt ſufficiently evinced how equal ſhe was to the commiſſion of the moſt daring crime, and ſhe confided in the partiality of the king to ſcreen her from the ſword of Juſtice, or the ven- A. D. 1106, 1108.

geance of the people: A faithful ſervant of her guilt adminiſtered to her paſſions by the effects of poiſon; the baneful potion was ſwallowed by Lewis, and the ſtrength of his conſtitution for a long time ſeemed overpowered by the violence of the noxious draught. The arts of medicine were exhauſted in vain, and the ableſt phyſicians deſpaired of his life; he was ſaved by the ſkill of a ſtranger: But theſe re-iterated inſtances of implacable averſion had at laſt triumphed over his patience, and he prepared to defend that life by arms, which he had in vain endeavoured to ſecure by ſubmiſſion and by exile. Bertrade would probably have fallen a victim to the juſt reſentment of the injured hero, had ſhe not averted the danger by the ſame arts as ſhe had acquired her dominion over Philip, and maintained her aſcendancy over the count of Anjou. Lewis was not inſenſible to the tears of repenting beauty; he conſented to pardon; and Bertrade ever afterwards affected to declare, with how much ſincerity it is not for us to decide, That he, and he alone, deſerved to inherit the kingdom which he had preſerved.

Philip ſurvived not long to enjoy the tranquillity eſtabliſhed by this event; in the forty-ſeventh year of his reign, and the fifty-fifth of his age, he expired at Melun, deſpiſed by his ſubjects,

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and regretted, perhaps, only by Bertrade. A. D. 1108
Yet his character, though deficient in virtue, was not deſtitute of endearing qualities; courteous, generous and compaſſionate, thoſe who had immediate acceſs to his perſon, forgot in the manners of the man the vices of the king. By Bertha, whoſe peace he ruined and whoſe heart he broke, Lewis his ſucceſſor was his only remaining ſon: Henry died young; and a daughter, named Conſtantia, was firſt married to Hugh, count of Troyes, and afterwards to Bohemond, prince of Antioch. His children by the celebrated Bertrade were, Philip, count of Mante, whoſe eſtates were confiſcated for rebellion, and who died without iſſue; Florence, who left only a daughter; and Cecilia, who was twice married, firſt to Tancred, prince of Antioch, and next to Pons de Toulouſe, count of Tripoli.

Lewis the Sixth, who, from his corpulency in the latter part of his life, was diſtin- A. D. 1109, 1113.
guiſhed by the ſurname of Groſs, immediately on the death of his father aſſumed the reins of government. A ſchiſm that prevailed in the church of Rheims, indueed the king to fix his coronation at Orleans, and to receive his crown from the biſhop of that city. But more effectual meaſures than an empty ceremony were neceſſary to eſtabliſh his authority; and the nobles ſeized the opportunity of an infant reign, to aſſert again

their pretenſions: Theſe were once more humbled in a field of battle; and the impartial ſpirit of juſtice which the monarch diſplayed, gradually reconciled his ſubjects to his ſway. Yet, with the lofty title of king of France, his domain ſcarce equalled that of the duke of Burgundy; and the territory which more immediately owned him as ſovereign, was confined to Paris, Orleans, Eſtampes, Compeigne, Melun, Bourges, and a few other places too inconſiderable to be named.

The diſaffected barons had been privately ſup-
A. D. 1113, 1114. ported by Henry of England, whoſe compaſſion for the prince was loſt in his jealouſy of the king. But no ſooner had Lewis triumphed over the male-contents than he directed his attention towards Normandy; Giſors on the Epte was the object of contention between the two kings. Lewis demanded that the fortifications ſhould be razed, which Henry, without refuſing, continually eluded. Their diſcontents at length broke out in open hoſtilities, and the monarchs, in perſon, oppoſed each other in the field. Before the armies joined, Lewis in vain propoſed an accommodation; and his propoſal to decide the diſpute by ſingle combat, was equally rejected by Henry, who anſwered with a ſmile, "that if victorious, he could but keep a place which "he already poſſeſſed, without fighting; and that "the

"the king of France hazarded his life indeed to "attain an important acquiſition, while his own "would be ſtaked againſt nothing." In the event of the day, Henry might frequently repent of a reply more prudent than gallant; and the forces of Normandy were compelled to fly before thoſe of France. Yet the victor and the vanquiſhed alike inclined to peace; and the homage of William, the only ſon of Henry, was accepted by Lewis for the duchy of Normandy, in the place of that of his father, who conſtantly refuſed to proſtitute the dignity of his crown by the ſervile ceremony.

The nobles of France had ſupported Lewis in his war with Henry, of whoſe poſſeſſions in Normandy they were equally jealous. The concluſion of peace was the ſignal again of revolt; and the life of the king in ſucceſſive battles, was expoſed with various ſucceſs. The cauſe of the count of Champagne was embraced by the king of England; and the count of Anjou, the ſon of Fulk and Bertrade, renounced his homage to Henry, and joined the ſtandard of France: But the French, in a deciſive battle, were doomed to experience the reverſe of fortune. The victorious Normans were commmanded by the count of Blois; and the count of Flanders, gallantly fighting in the cauſe of his ſovereign, was thrown from his horſe and trampled to death. Yet the

diſputes of the two monarchs were again adjuſted at Giſors; but the terms were preſcribed by Henry, and were ſubmitted to with reluctance by Lewis, who beheld his confederates, the count of Anjou, and the count of Brittany, yield homage to the conqueror for their reſpective countries of Maine and Brittany. The influence of Henry was further augmented by the marriage of one of his daughters to Conan, the ſon of the duke of Brittany; his other daughter was already married to Henry the Fifth, of Germany; and his ſon William now eſpouſed the daugher and heireſs of the count of Anjou.

The king of France, equally deſirous of ex- A. D. tending his connections and providing 1115, 1119. for the ſucceſſion of the crown, demanded and obtained the hand of Adelaide, the daughter of the count of Savoy. The amiable qualities of that princeſs endeared her to the nobility, and her good ſenſe and diſcretion contributed to ſmooth the rugged paths which Lewis, throughout his reign, was condemned to tread. The ſucceſs of Henry ſtill rankled in the boſom of that monarch, and he impatiently waited a favourable opportunity to retrieve his glory, and re-eſtabliſh his authority. With pleaſure he liſtened to the ſuppliant voice of a young prince, who, having in vain attempted to arouſe the compaſſion of other monarchs, ſought ſhelter

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and ſupport in the court of France. This prince was William, the ſon of Robert of Normandy, and grandſon of the conqueror; whoſe filial piety implored the humanity of Lewis to procure the liberty of his father, a priſoner to his brother Henry. The king of France heſitated not long in granting a requeſt, recommended by the powerful motives of pity and intereſt. He adviſed William to engage the inclinations of the nobles of Normandy, and particularly to attach to his cauſe the counts of Flanders and Anjou. The negociation of the young prince was ſucceſsful; and Lewis, apprized of the ſentiments and preparations of the confederates, demanded of the king of England the liberty of his brother Robert. A peremptory refuſal was the ſignal of revolt to the Norman chieftains; the indignant people haſtened to proclaim William their duke, and crowded to his ſtandard; the counts of Flanders and Anjou advanced with a formidable army to the gates of Rouen; and the mind of Henry, aſtoniſhed at the defection of Normandy, was alarmed and embarraſſed by the dread of domeſtic conſpiracy.

Yet amidſt the dangers which on every ſide preſented themſelves; amidſt ſecret diſaffection and open rebellion, the intrigues of his own ſubjects, and the invaſion of his foreign enemies, the king

king of England maintained that fortitude which ever diſtinguiſhed his character. Inſtead of condeſcending to ſolicit an ignominious peace, he diſputed every inch of the ground with unabated vigour; his arms were ſeconded by his intrigues; by a liberal diſtribution of his treaſures, he detached the count of Anjou from the party of the confederates; in a bloody action, the count of Flanders ſhared the fate of his father, and mortally wounded in the face, ſoon after expired. Alain, duke of Brittany, ruſhed to the aſſiſtance of the king of England; and the youthful William had the double mortification of beholding his enemies encreaſed, and his friends diminiſhed. The forces of France were ſtill entire, and Lewis was not inclined readily to abandon an enterpriſe, in which his honour and his intereſt were ſo deeply engaged. As he advanced, in hopes of ſurpriſing Nojon, he himſelf was unexpectedly encountered by the Engliſh army, in the plains of Brenneville; his van-guard, commanded by William, aſtoniſhed yet undaunted, and animated by the ſpirit of the gallant youth who led them, charged with reſiſtleſs fury; the Engliſh troops who oppoſed them, were broken by their impetuous valour; for a moment, Henry deſpaired of his crown and life; ſtruck to the ground by the arm of a Norman warrior, he yet roſe with redoubled

redoubled ſtrength, and levelled at his feet his daring adverſary. His perſevering courage reſtored order to his troops, and encreaſed the confuſion of his enemies, already ſcattered by the hunger of ſpoil, and by the raſh impatience of their king. The fortune of the day was changed by the indiſcretion of the leader and the avarice of his followers; and Lewis was glad to exchange his proud hopes of victory for the ſecurity of flight: On foot he eſcaped with difficulty to the friendly and neighbouring walls of Andeli, and relinquiſhed to his rival the glory of a field, of which he had been defrauded by his own raſhneſs.

The French army had united under the walls of Andeli; but the ſtrength A. D. 1180. of the confederates was impaired by the defection of the count of Anjou and the death of the count of Flanders. The proffered mediation of the Roman pontiff was gladly accepted; and Henry, after glorioufly concluding a war which threatened to ſubvert his throne, dictated the terms of peace, and repaſſed the ſeas, to repoſe after his fatigues, and diſplay his triumph in England. But the exultation of victory was ſoon overwhelmed by a calamity, as ſevere as it was unexpected. He had left behind him his ſon William, the heir of his crown and virtues, to receive the

the homage of the Norman nobles. The veſſel in which the young prince embarked to rejoin his father, was, through the negligence of the pilot, wrecked near Barfleur, on the coaſt of Normandy; and William, with Richard, a natural ſon of Henry, and a train of gallant nobles, fatally periſhed. In the midſt of public diſtreſs, Henry had diſplayed the undaunted reſolution which became a hero and a king: In this private and irreparable loſs, the feelings of a father were equally conſpicuous; and from the moment that he received the fatal intelligence, his countenance invariably acknowledged the ſettled ſorrow which oppreſſed his ſoul.

A. D. 1120, 1123. The hopes of William of Normandy were revived by the fate of the ſon of Henry, and the nobility of that country were ready to receive with open arms, a prince whom they now conſidered as the laſt repreſentative of their ancient dukes. The treaſures of France were, by the policy of Lewis, devoted to his ſervice; and the count of Anjou beſtowed on him his ſecond daughter Sybilla, with the county of Maine: His eldeſt had proved barren in the embraces of the Engliſh prince; and the premature death of her conſort, diſſolved the alliance which Fulk had contracted with the king of England. That monarch was awakened from the lethargy of grief by

by the tremendous ſound of war; and the powerful confederates were ſoon admoniſhed by the negociations of a ſtateſman and the enterpriſing ſpirit of a warrior, that affliction had not enfeebled his mind, or cooled his ardour. He had raiſed to the throne of England, as his ſecond wife, the niece of pope Callixtus the Second: The Roman pontiff, under the pretence of conſanguinity, declared void the marriage between William and Sybilla; and that unfortunate prince was compelled to abandon, with his wife, the province of Maine. His expectation in Normandy proved equally fallacious; the conſpirators, before they could aſſemble their adherents, were ſurpriſed by the arrival, and reduced by the activity of Henry, whoſe voice excited the emperor of Germany to arms, and menaced France with the terrors of foreign invaſion.

In the tempeſt which threatened to overturn his throne, the internal reſources of Lewis were diſplayed. The vaſſals of the crown crowded to his ſtandard; and the celebrated *Oriflame*, the banner of St. Denys, was firſt unfurled on this memorable occaſion. The German emperor was compelled to retire before an army of two hundred thouſand men, confident in their numbers, and zealous in the ſervice of their country; but when Lewis would have led this A. D. 1124.

this formidable hoſt to encounter the king of England, and to eſtabliſh the ſon of Robert in the duchy of Normandy, the flattering hopes of conqueſt were diſſipated by the anſwer of the jealous barons. They prudently diſtinguiſhed between the cauſe of the kingdom and the king; and declared they would not contribute to oppreſs the king of England, whoſe poſſeſſion of Normandy they regarded as neceſſary to the maintenance of their own ſecurity. The death of the emperor of Germany, on the part of Henry, the invincible averſion of his nobles, ſuſpicious of his intentions, on the ſide of Lewis, diſpoſed the two monarchs mutually to a peace, which they nominally kept, and conſtantly violated, in the cauſe of their vaſſals and allies.

Charles of Denmark had ſucceeded his couſin Baldwin, who periſhed in an action with the Bretons before Eu, in the principality of Flanders. Charles fell a victim to the diſcontents of his ſubjects, and was himſelf aſſaſſinated at Bruges. The vacant county was claimed by Baldwin, earl of Mons; and Thierri, count of Alſace: The king of France was determined to beſtow it on the ſon of Robert of Normandy; and the king of England prepared to ſupport the pretenſions of the count of Alſace. To ſecure the neutrality of the count of Anjou,

A. D. 1124, 1128.

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he married his daughter Maude, the widow of Henry the Fifth, of Germany, to Geoffry Plantagenet, the ſon of that nobleman, and perſuaded the count himſelf to embark for the Holy Land, to receive the crown of Jeruſalem. Thus ſecure from any interruption on that ſide, he excited the earl of Champagne to arm in the cauſe of Thierri: The rival princes encountered each other near Alort; the valour of the Norman triumphed over his adverſary; but even in the moment of victory his adverſe genius prevailed. In the action he was wounded in the hand; a mortification terminated a life invariably unfortunate; and the death of William was attended with the ſubmiſſion of Flanders, which conſented to acknowledge the authority of the count of Alſace.

The domeſtic misfortunes of Henry had embittered the happineſs of his life; and Lewis, in his turn, was alſo doomed to taſte of the cup of affliction. He had ſcarce aſſociated his eldeſt ſon Philip to the throne, before he was ſummoned to weep over his tomb: A fall from his horſe proved fatal to the young prince; and the favourable expectations of a future reign, which had been raiſed by his early virtues, were blaſted by his premature death. The loſs of Philip was followed by the coronation of Lewis, who at the age of twelve years received the crown A. D. 1129.

from

from the hands of pope Innocent the Second. The ſudden manner in which this ceremony was performed, is accounted for by the cabals of the nobles, impatient of the king's rigorous adminiſtration and rigid virtue, and even deſirous of transferring the ſceptre to another family.

Yet the benefits reſulting from an inflexible ad-
A. D. herence to juſtice, and an invariable
1130, 1137. zeal for the laws, could not fail at length to reconcile his ſubjects to the auſtere integrity of their ſovereign. The great vaſſals of the crown, convinced that the views of Lewis were honourable, were induced to place that confidence in him which they had hitherto withheld from his predeceſſors; even Thibaud, count of Champagne, relinquiſhed his connections with Henry, and attached himſelf to the king of France with a fidelity which nothing could ſhake. In the enjoyment of that tranquillity which he had ſo long deſired and ſo lately attained, the health of Lewis viſibly declined, and his life was threatened by the exceſſive corpulency from which he had derived the ſurname of Groſs. In hourly expectation of his diſſolution, he drew his ring from his finger, and as he delivered it to his ſon, conjured him to recollect, that the ſovereign power with which it inveſted him, was a public truſt devolved on him by Providence; and for the exerciſe of which, he

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muſt be accountable in a future ſtate. Some favourable ſymptoms of returning health were received by the univerſal acclamations of the people; and before his death he had the ſatisfaction of beholding his ſon united to Eleanor, the daughter and heireſs of the duke of Guienne and Aquitaine. The marriage was celebrated at Bourdeaux, and the young princeſs was ſolemnly crowned queen of France. But the king himſelf had ſcarce time to embrace his daughter-in-law, before he ſunk beneath the preſſure of diſeaſe, and expired at Paris, in the thirtieth year of his reign and the ſixtieth year of his age. His character has been deſcribed in a few words, more favourable to his private than his public qualities: He might have made a better king, he could not prove a better man.

Chapter the Seventh.

ACCESSION OF LEWIS THE SEVENTH, SURNAMED THE *YOUNG*.—CHARACTERS OF HIS MINISTERS, ST. BERNARD AND SUGER.—AT THE INSTIGATION OF THE FORMER, HE ASSUMES THE CROSS, AND MARCHES TO THE RELIEF OF THE HOLY LAND.—HIS DEFEAT AND RETURN.—HE DIVORCES HIS WIFE ELEANOR.—HIS WARS WITH HENRY THE SECOND, KING OF ENGLAND. CHARACTER AND DEATH OF THOMAS BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—DEATH OF LEWIS THE SEVENTH.

A. D. 1137, 1139. LEWIS the Seventh, although at the demiſe of his father but eighteen years old, and who retained the ſurname of *Young* even in the more mature period of age, aſſumed the reins of government. The affections of the nobility had been conciliated, or their arrogance humbled, by the addreſs or arms of his predeceſſor; but the vigour and wiſdom which had awed or influenced them was no more; and the acceſſion of an inexeperienced youth flattered their turbulent expectations

expectations with an æra of licenſe and anarchy. To repreſs their exceſſes, the king retired to Orleans, and prepared to aſſemble his forces; but even the Commons, who had invariably ſupported the authority of his father, oppoſed with ſeditious clamours his decrees, and were appeaſed with danger and difficulty. Amidſt a ſcene of revolt and diſaffection, the king remained firm and undaunted; and the diſcontented barons were rather intimidated by the fortitude he diſplayed, than reduced by the troops he had collected.

Whatever calamities menaced France from her internal diſſentions, the delicate ſituation of affairs in England delivered her from the dread of an inveterate and formidable enemy. On the death of Henry the Firſt, his vacant throne was occupied by Stephen, count of Boulogne, the brother of Thibaud, count of Champagne, and nephew of the deceaſed monarch. The Engliſh had preferred the martial ſpirit of a popular general to the unſteady counſels of a capricious woman, and the feeble name of an infant. Matilda, and her ſon Henry Plantagenet, the daughter and grandſon of Henry the Firſt, in vain urged their pretenſions; they were compelled to yield to the head-long rage of the torrent, and to ſhelter themſelves in Anjou.

Normandy, long united to England, ſubmitted

A. D. 1140, 1144. to her influence, and acknowledged the authority of Stephen. His ſon Euſtace, as the repreſentative of his father, diſcharged in perſon the homage due to the crown of France, and received the hand of Conſtance, the ſiſter of the king. But this alliance could not reſtrain the turbulent diſpoſition of Thibaud, count of Champagne, and uncle of Euſtace. The Chapter of Bourges had elected, without waiting the approbation of their ſovereign, Pierre de le Chatre to the vacant archiepiſcopal ſee. The indignant monarch, determined to vindicate his inſulted authority, commanded the Chapter to proceed to a new election; but the clergy firmly maintained their choice. The Roman pontiff eſpouſed the cauſe of Pierre de le Chatre; and he himſelf, protected by the count of Champagne, to whoſe court he had eſcaped, launched the thunders of eccleſiaſtical vengeance againſt that part of the royal domain which was compriſed within the limits of his archbiſhoprick. The brand of diſcord was kindled by this haſty ſpark, and the flame was fed by another incident which equally diſplayed the dangerous and encroaching ſpirit of the court of Rome, nouriſhed the arrogance of the count of Champagne, and provoked the reſentment of the king of France.

Rodolph,

Rodolph, count of Vermandois, whoſe perſonal merit was rendered ſtill more conſpicuous by his illuſtrious birth, and who had ſucceſſively preſided over the councils of Lewis and his father, had divorced from his bed on the common and convenient pretence of conſanguinity, his wife, the near relation of the count of Champagne; and had eſpouſed Petronilla, the daughter of the late duke of Aquitain, and the younger ſiſter of the queen of France. The mind of Thibaud was deeply wounded by the indignity offered to his family; the Roman Pontiff readily embraced the cauſe of the protector of Pierre de le Chatre; he declared the marriage of Petronilla void, and denounced the penalty of excommunication againſt Rodolph, unleſs he recalled to his bed his wife, whom he had divorced. But Lewis, doubly intereſted in the fate of his kinſman, was not to be diſmayed by the terror of ſpiritual cenſure; with a formidable army he entered the territories of Thibaud, and compelled that haughty chief to ſue for peace: As the means of obtaining it, he promiſed to intercede with the pope to revoke the excommunication of the count of Vermandois, and the interdict which Pierre de le Chatre had pronounced againſt the royal domain in the archbiſhoprick of Bourges. Yet the king had ſcarce retired within his own dominions before he was a-

gain aſſailed by the hoſtile weapons of the apoſtolical chair; and enraged at the deceit of Thibaud, the ſincerity of whoſe ſubmiſſion he juſtly ſuſpected, he determined to avenge on the miſerable inhabitants of Champagne, the perfidy of their reſtleſs prince. The country on every ſide was blaſted at his approach; and the tempeſt of his indignation burſt with accumulated violence on the town of Vitri: The waters of the Maine were ſtained with the blood of a wretched and defenceleſs people; and thirteen hundred perſons are reported to have periſhed in the flames which conſumed the church of Vitri.

The emotions of rage and reſentment had at
A. D. 1145. firſt occupied the ſoul of Lewis: To theſe ſucceeded compaſſion and repentance; and the monarch turned with horror from the ſanguinary ſcene, the conſequence of his own unbridled paſſions. He reconciled himſelf to the count of Champagne; he acknowledged Pierre as the archbiſhop of Bourges; and, conſiſtent with the devotion of a ſuperſtitious age, he determined to merit the abſolution of his crime by the aſſumption of the holy croſs. Two miniſters at that time divided the confidence, and ruled with equal influence, but different counſels, the mind of Lewis; the veneration for each was encreaſed by the ſanctity of their mutual profeſſion; and

and born and educated in the cloyſter, their abilities were transferred to the palace and the throne. Both poſſeſſed the ſingular qualities of unfeigned piety and unſhaken integrity. Suger, abbot of St. Denys, mean in his birth and meaner in his perſon, diſplayed a comprehenſive judgment free from the clouds of enthuſiaſm, and regarded the political horizon with the eye of a penetrating ſtateſman; he earneſtly admoniſhed Lewis to be ſatisfied with the more prudent contributions of men and money; and by his preſence at home to ſecure the tranquillity of his hereditary dominions. His moderate exhortations were overwhelmed by the torrent of his rival's eloquence, and his ſagacity was ineffectually exerciſed in foretelling the evils which he was not permitted to avert. But the fatal triumph was due to the fervid zeal, the vehement tone and geſtures of Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, in the county of Champagne: Deſcended from a noble family of Burgundy, he had buried himſelf, at the pleaſureable age of twenty-three, in the auſtere ſolitude of monaſtic retirement; but his virtues were not to be concealed within the walls of his convent, and the holy appellation of ſaint was an honourable teſtimony to the blameleſs tenor of his life. In ſpeech, in writing, and in action, he ſtood high above his rivals and contemporaries; his fame was enhanced

by his ſtedfaſt refuſal of all eccleſiaſtical dignities; he was conſulted as the oracle of Europe; and princes and pontiffs trembled at the freedom of his apoſtolical cenſures. His glowing colours depictured the meritorious piety, the eternal rewards which attended the holy warfare; and the flame of fanaticiſm which he kindled in the boſom of the king, was only to be extinguiſhed by the blood of the infidels. His victory over Lewis was followed by the more difficult conqueſt of Conrad, emperor of Germany, and of Frederick duke Swabia, his nephew and ſucceſſor; and at the pathetic voice of St. Bernard, profuſe of ſucceſs and divine favour, the myriads of Europe were again arouſed to the defence of the holy ſepulchre.

In the parliament of Vezelay, Lewis the Seventh with his queen and nobles, received their croſſes from the hand of the abbot of Clairvaux. The diſtreſs of Paleſtine demanded the immediate preſence of the devout warriors; and the falling fortunes of the Latins, could only be propped by the immenſe preparations for the ſecond cruſade. The city of Edeſſa had been recovered from the Chriſtians by the valour of Zenghi, a Turkiſh chief, who ruled with independent authority the Aſiatic kingdoms of Moſul and Aleppo; and the conqueſt which had

A. D. 1146.

had been atchieved by the father, was protected by the fame and fortune of his ſon. The name of Noureddin, the *Light*, ſtill gleams through the darkneſs of Aſiatic hiſtory; and its meridian glory eclipſed the faint luſtre of the unworthy ſucceſſors of Godfrey. The throne of Jeruſalem was then occupied by the inexperienced youth of Baldwin the Third, and his tender years were protected by the counſels of his mother Meliſenda, while the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli obeyed the authority of the two Raymonds, of Poitiers and Toulouſe.

The forces which aſſembled under the ſtandard of the king of France, have been computed at the almoſt incredible number of A. D. 1147 ſeventy thouſand cavalry and one hundred thouſand infantry. The reins of government were, during his abſence, entruſted to Rodolph, count of Vermandois, and to Suger, abbot of St. Denys, whoſe counſels he had rejected, but whoſe prudence and judgment he eſteemed. At the head of this unweildy hoſt, Lewis traverſed ſucceſsfully the Plains of Hungary, and encamped under the walls of Conſtantinople. In the interview with Manuel Comnenus, the ſeat of the French monarch was a low ſtool, beſide the throne of the emperor of the Eaſt; but Lewis ſoon after aſſerted his oppreſſed dignity; and when he had tranſported his army

army beyond the Boſphorus, declined the offer of a ſecond conference, unleſs his brother would meet him on equal terms, either on the ſea or land. From the ſhores of the Boſphorus, Lewis advanced through a country inhabited by profeſſed friends and ſecret enemies. The Greeks beheld with terror the innumerable ſwarms which had poured from the weſt; and the gates of the cities, both of Europe and Aſia, were cloſely barred againſt the cruſaders. The ſcanty pittance of food was let down in baſkets from the walls; the paſſes were fortified, the bridges broken down, and the ſtragglers pillaged and murdered. The impetuous paſſions of Manuel Comnenus had been arouſed by the numbers and martial ſpirit of the pilgrims of the Weſt, who violated the majeſty, and endangered the ſafety of the empire; and the prince and the people combined to diſcourage the formidable emigration of their Chriſtian brethren by every ſpecies of injury and oppreſſion.

The emulation of the Germans had induced them to preſs forward to the ſcene of action; the lingering ſteps of the French had been retarded by jealouſy; their junction might have commanded ſucceſs, their diviſion enſured defeat. At Nice, Lewis met Conrad, his rival in the pious warfare, returning wounded from a glorious but unfortunate combat on the banks of the Mæander, and reduced

reduced to exchange the proud dream of conqueſt for a ſecure paſſage to Paleſtine by ſea, in ſome veſſels which he borrowed from the Greeks. Yet the misfortunes of the Germans ſerved not to abate the ſwelling hopes of the Franks; and Lewis, without experience or caution, advanced through the ſame country to a ſimilar fate. The van-guard, with the Oriflame of St. Denys, had ruſhed forward with inconſiderate ſpeed; and the king, who commanded the rear, when he arrived in the evening camp, could no longer diſcern his companions through the gloom of the night. Inſtead of the friendly voices of their countrymen, the French were aſtoniſhed and diſmayed by the diſſonant and hoſtile ſhouts of the Turks: Their terror and diſorder were encreaſed by the darkneſs which involved them; and they were encompaſſed and overwhelmed by the innumerable hoſt of the infidels. The king himſelf had diſplayed his valour in the foremoſt ranks, and owed his ſafety to the darkneſs of the night and the proweſs of his own arm. In the general diſcomfiture he had climbed up a tree, and on the dawn of day he eſcaped alive, but almoſt alone, to the camp of the van-guard. The condition of this part of the army could afford to Lewis but little conſolation; the minds of the ſoldiers were depreſſed by the irreparable loſs of their companions;

nions; the ſame fate ſeemed to impend over them; their fainting ſteps were purſued by the ferocious myriads of the Turks, inflamed by victory and inſatiate of blood: Their fears were augmented by their ignorance of the country; and the majority of the guides, which they had brought from Laodicea, had periſhed in the late diſaſterous action. After a march, memorable for every ſpecies of diſtreſs, they beheld with tranſport the welcome towers of Salia, and haſtened to ſhelter themſelves within the friendly walls. The ſight of the ocean relieved them from the dread of future dangers by land; and Lewis was content to embark in that ſea-port, the wretched remnant of his hoſt that could be ſupplied with veſſels, and direct his courſe for Antioch. He was received with open arms by Raymond of Poictiers, who ruled that principality with independent authority: But to public calamity ſucceeded the pang of domeſtic miſery; and it could not be concealed from the eye of a tender huſband, that the fidelity of his queen Eleanor had been ſacrificed to repay the hoſpitality of Raymond.

From this ſcene of his diſhonour Lewis, accom-
A.D. 1149. panied by his reluctant queen, hoiſted ſail for Jeruſalem, and rejoined in the ſacred city the former rival of his glory, the preſent

preſent partner of his diſtreſs. Yet the ardour of the emperor and the king was not totally extinguiſhed; their zeal was revived by the ſight of the holy ſepulchres; and with the ſhattered remains of their forces and the troops of Baldwin the Third, king of Jeruſalem, they determined to form the ſiege of Damaſcus. Strong in itſelf, and in the valour and number of its garriſon, the city was ſtill more effectually protected by the arts of corruption, and the mutual jealouſies of the beſiegers. The chriſtians of the eaſt liſtened with diſguſt to the rumour, that Damaſcus, when taken, would be the reward of the count of Flanders: Their envy induced them to betray the cauſe in which they had embarked; the convoys were ſurpriſed; the works were inſulted; and Conrad and Lewis were at length compelled to relinquiſh the hopeleſs enterpriſe, and with the perſonal fame of piety and courage prepared to return to Europe. From a port in Syria, the king of France ſteered towards Calabria; but his feeble ſquadron was oppreſſed by the numerous fleets of the Greeks; and the monarch himſelf was perhaps reſcued from captivity by the accidental encounter of the naval forces of Sicily, commanded by their celebrated Admiral George. From Calabria, directing his footſteps to Rome, after a perſonal conference with the

Roman

pontiff, Eugenius the Third, and lamenting the diſgrace of the Chriſtian arms, he arrived in his own capital, from which he had been ſo fatally deluded by the viſionary proſpect of Aſiatic conqueſt.

The frantic zeal of Lewis had deeply wounded the internal ſtrength and proſperity of his kingdom; while he wandered with a fanatic crowd over the Plains of Aſia, in purſuit of a phantom which only lured him to deſtruction, the abſence of the myriads who followed his devious footſteps were ſenſibly felt and lamented in France. The plough-ſhare of the huſbandmen had been exchanged for the ſword; and in every province the lands preſented a dreary waſte; the caſtles and buildings a pile of ruins; and the wailing voice of the widow and the orphan was inceſſantly heard. The return of the monarch, inſtead of being adorned with the ſpoils of Aſia, was accompanied by ſhame and diſappointment; and the innumerable hoſt he had led forth, was dwindled to a ſlender train of martial followers. Yet he was received by the loud and heart-felt acclamations of his people; and the misfortunes of his enterpriſe were loſt in the moment of tranſport. Far different was the forlorn ſituation of St. Bernard; his own prudence, and the example of Peter the Hermit, had induced him to reject the command

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of the armies which had been proffered; within the walls of his convent he had anxiouſly awaited the effects of the enthuſiaſm which he had kindled, and the event of the predictions which he had hazarded; all was gloomy and hopeleſs, and the ſucceſſive tidings from Paleſtine, alarmed, aſtoniſhed, and overwhelmed the unfortunate abbot. By the voice of an indignant people, he was loudly accuſed as a falſe prophet, the author of the public and private mourning; his enemies exulted, his friends bluſhed, and his apology was ſlow and unſatisfactory. In vain he urged the implicit obedience which was due to the commands of the pope; in vain he accuſed the failings and vices of the pilgrims, as the ſource of their own misfortunes. His predictions had been bold and unqualified; the devout adventurers had been allured by the promiſe that they ſhould ſatiate their thirſt of ſpoil and conqueſt: The cup that was preſented to them was filled with the bitter ingredients of defeat and diſtreſs; and the Orientals, who confided in the Koran, had triumphed over the Chriſtians of the weſt, with whoſe names and military forces they had been ſo often threatened.

But if the clamours of France might ſo juſtly accuſe the blind confidence of one eccleſiaſtic, the tribute of ſpotleſs praiſe and applauſe was with

with equal propriety paid to another. Suger, abbot of St. Denys, had in vain endeavoured to divert his ſovereign from an enterpriſe more glorious than prudent; and without aſſuming the pretenſions of prophetic inſpiration, he had foretold the miſeries which naturally might be expected from the thoughtleſs and precipitate undertaking. His counſels could not preſerve the inconſiderate multitude from the fate which awaited them in Paleſtine, but his care and wiſdom alleviated the diſtreſs of the kingdom entruſted to his guidance, and deſerted by her ſovereign, her nobility, and great part of her inhabitants. That kingdom he preſerved in peace, while her rival ſiſter, England, was afflicted by the impetuous paſſions of Stephen, who filled the throne, and the pretenſions of the empreſs Matilda, who aſpired to it. The count of Dreux, the brother of the king of France, had preceded the return of that monarch; and envious of his ſuperior dignity, and impatient to wreſt from his royal hand the ſceptre, had artfully ſcattered through the land the rumours of royal imprudence and incapacity. His intrigues were detected, his ambitious ſchemes were baffled by the vigilance and firmneſs of Suger; and the abbot of St. Denys, on the arrival of Lewis, reſigned to him the royal authority, pure and undiminiſhed.

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The tempeſt of civil war, which agitated England and was felt through Normandy, firſt attracted the attention of Lewis; and his ſupport was claimed by and allowed to Stephen, whoſe ſon Euſtace had yielded him homage for the Duchy of Normandy, and had married his ſiſter Conſtance. But his thoughts were ſoon after entirely engroſſed by a care of a more domeſtic nature: The levity of his wife Eleanor, and her ſuſpicious partiality for her uncle Raymond, prince of Antioch, were deeply engraved on his mind. The wiſe admonitions of the abbot of St. Denys were again diſregarded; and he determined to divorce from his bed, a licentious female, whoſe fidelity to it he more than doubted. With Eleanor, he reſtored her ample inheritance, the fertile and important counties of Guienne and Poitou; and the facility with which he parted from theſe wealthy provinces, has for ever annexed to him the ſurname of *Young*. The princeſs herſelf fulfilled the prediction of Suger, and threw herſelf, with her valuable poſſeſſions, into the arms of Henry Plantagenet, the ſon of the Empreſs Matilda; while Lewis endeavoured to conſole himſelf for her loſs with the charms of Conſtance, the daughter of Alphonſo, the king of Caſtile, whom he immediately afterwards eſpouſed.

The arms and intrigues of Henry had already

pervaded the Duchy of Normandy; the cities had opened their gates, and received him as their prince; and with Guienne and Poitou, the fruits of his marriage with Eleanor, his poſſeſſions in France were at leaſt equal to thoſe of Lewis. The character of that prince began already to unfold itſelf; bold, penetrating and ambitious, the meridian blaze of manhood was uſhered in by the dawning luſtre of his youth. To balance the influence he had attained, and the dominion he had acquired, the French monarch ſtill more cloſely connected himſelf with his brother-in-law Euſtace. But Suger unfortunately was no more; and the abbot of St. Denys, covered with years and glory, ſunk into the grave, amidſt the tears and lamentations of the people. The deſultory incurſions into Normandy were followed by an inglorious truce, and the experience of Lewis was vanquiſhed by the flattery and negociations of the ſubtle ſon of Matilda.

Henry ſeized the favourable opportunity of this tranſient calm to tranſport himſelf with his mother into England. The throne of Stephen was ſhaken by the violence of his own paſſions, and the arts and perſonal proweſs of his rival; but at the moment that the hoſtile armies expected the ſignal for battle, the bloody encounter was averted by the patriotic language of the

A. D. 1153, 1154.

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earl of Arundel. The contending princes were reluctantly prevailed on to ſheath the ſword by the general voice of their mutual followers; and a compromiſe was propoſed and enforced, which preſerved the crown to Stephen, during his life, and aſſured it to Henry at his death. Euſtace alone rejected a treaty ſo fatal to his hopes of hereditary royalty. His reſentment might once more have expoſed the kingdom to the calamities of civil war; but a ſeaſonable fever, perhaps the effect of diſappointed ambition, extinguiſhed with his laſt breath the torch of diſcord. The father ſurvived not long to deplore the loſs of his ſon; and Henry, without oppoſition and without a competitor, aſcended the throne of England, amidſt the unanimous acclamations of the people.

The truce between Henry and Lewis had expired, and the latter had renewed his attempts on Normandy: But the acceſſion of the former to the crown of England, allowed the French monarch no longer to flatter himſelf with the hopes of ſucceſs; and he readily liſtened to the voice of peace. Though by no means indifferent to the growing greatneſs of his rival, he wanted power or ability to repreſs it; and his character is more happily delineated by the epithet of good than great. He had ſcarce eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of his kingdom before he A. D. 1155.

undertook a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James, at Compoſtella, the capital of Galicia; and the devout expedition was attended by an interview with his father-in-law, the king of Caſtile, and with Sancho the Fifth, who filled with reputation and ability the throne of Navarre. On his return, Lewis aſſembled a ſplendid council at Soiſſons, diſtinguiſhed by the preſence of the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Flanders, Troyes, Nevers, and Soiſſons, and a long train of powerful and noble vaſſals; but ſtill more memorable by the influence of the ſovereign, who engaged the haughty barons to ſwear to a ten years peace, and to ſubmit their differences during that ſpace to the deciſion of juſtice, inſtead of appealing to the ſword.

Soon after the council of Soiſſons, the count of Flanders had aſſumed the holy croſs; but his deſign of marching to the ſuccour of his Chriſtian brethren in Paleſtine was interrupted by death, and his laſt breath bequeathed his ſon and his dominions to the protection of Henry of England. This truſt, which augmented the influence and power of a neighbour already too formidable, was beheld with a jealous eye by Lewis; and the arts with which Henry had condeſcended to ſooth the mind of his rival, gave way to the ardent deſire of poſ-

A. D. 1156, 1160.

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ſeſſing the city and dioceſe of Toulouſe: Theſe were claimed by the king of England, in right of his wife Eleanor; and he aſſerted, that her anceſtor, the duke of Aquitain, had only mortgaged and not actually alienated them. The money that had been advanced he offered to reſtore, and inforced his proffer by a numerous army drawn from every part of his dominions, and with which he inveſted Toulouſe; but that city was defended by the count in perſon; and the undaunted reſolution which he diſplayed in repelling the attacks of the beſiegers, was increaſed by his juſt expectations of ſuccour and ſupport from the king of France. He had married Conſtance, the widow of Euſtace, and ſiſter to Lewis; and that monarch heſitated not to march to the relief of his vaſſal and his kinſman. In a ſucceſsful action he cut his way through the lines of the aſſailants, and by his preſence revived the drooping ſpirits of the beſieged. Henry, convinced that the enterpriſe was hopeleſs from the firſt moment that the ſuccours entered the town, abandoned the ſiege, having firſt, by a compliment, aſſured the king of France, that he could not think of purſuing his attacks againſt a city which was honoured by his perſonal protection. From Toulouſe, the king of England poured the torrent of his arms over the proſtrate country of

Beauvais, razed the ſtrong fortreſs of Gerberoy, and extended his devaſtations within ſight of the walls of Paris. For two ſucceſſive years, the inhabitants of France and Normandy were afflicted by the deſultory incurſions of their reſpective princes: The exhauſted ſtate of both kingdoms induced them at length ſeriouſly to negociate a peace. The homage in perſon of Henry was accepted for the Duchy of Normandy, and his ſon, of the ſame name, acknowledged by a ſimilar ceremony the conditions on which he held Anjou and Maine: While Richard, the ſecond ſon of the king of England, was betrothed to the daughter of Raymond Berenger, count of Barcelona, and was aſſigned, for his future maintenance, the county of Guienne. The origin of the war, the claim of Henry to the city of Toulouſe, was buried in a ſtudied ſilence; and that prince was left to reſume or abandon, as occaſion offered, his powerful pretenſions.

The peace was ſcarce concluded before the death of Conſtance, the daughter of the king of Caſtile, and the conſort of Lewis, left that prince a widower; two daughters had proved the only iſſue of his marriage with the deceaſed queen; and the entreaties of his nobles, his concern for the tranquillity of his kingdom, and his deſire to perpetuate the ſceptre in

A. D. 1160, 1162.

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the hands of his poſterity, all concurred in directing him to a third marriage. Adelaide, the daughter of Thibaud, earl of Champagne, was the object of his choice; and his alliance with that princeſs firmly attached to his intereſt the different branches of that powerful family. From the celebration of theſe nuptials, his attention was diverted by the ſchiſm of the church, which had broken forth on the death of pope Adrian. Alexander the Third, and Victor the Fourth, both urged their pretenſions to the vacant chair of St. Peter: The former was ſupported by the kings of England and France, who, at an interview at Toucy, nouriſhed the ſpiritual pride of the Roman pontiff, by condeſcending to hold the ſtirrups and the bridle of his horſe; while the cauſe of the latter was eſpouſed by Frederick of Germany. For eighteen years, Europe was enflamed and ſcandalized by the angry paſſions of theſe holy prelates; and the perſeverance and claims of Victor were tranſmitted to two nominal ſucceſſors, who were branded with the appellation of *antipope*, and who yielded not till after a long and obſtinate conteſt to the ſuperior fortune of Alexander.

The hoſtile flame which had ſo long conſumed the ſubjects of France and England, had been extinguiſhed by the ſuppliant voice of one prelate;

it was re-kindled, and blazed with redoubled violence, at the imperious command of another. An haſty ſpark had indeed ariſen from an event moſt likely to have cemented the friendſhip of Henry and Lewis; the eldeſt ſon of the former had married Margaret, the daughter of the latter, by his queen Conſtance; and the king of England, as the portion of the princeſs, had ſeized Giſors with ſome other places of importance; but their differences were adjuſted by the mediation of the Roman pontiff, and the latent embers of diſcord ſlept till awakened by the breath of Thomas Becket.

This extraordinary man was the ſon of a burgher, and educated in the ſchools of London; he afterwards continued his ſtudies at Paris, was received into the family of Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and obtained the benefices of St. Mary le Strand, and Otteford in Kent, with a prebendary in each of the cathedrals of London and Lincoln. Thus enabled to ſupport himſelf in affluence, he retired to Bologna, and applied himſelf to the civil and cannon law. His various attainments recommended him as a proper perſon to be entruſted with the moſt weighty and delicate negociations; his abilities were known and approved at the court of Rome; and before the death of Stephen, he had been nominated archdeacon

deacon of Canterbury. On the acceſſion of Henry, his riſe was rapid, and his influence unbounded; he was promoted to the office of chancellor, a poſt of the greateſt profit, power, and dignity in the realm. To this was added a number of eccleſiaſtical preferments, and the cuſtody of the tower was entruſted to his vigilance and fidelity. His expences kept pace with the honours which were accumulated on him; and his immenſe revenues were ſcarce ſufficient to ſupply a magnificence which bordered on profuſion. His table was open to perſons of every rank; and the moſt exquiſite dainties were purchaſed for his entertainments. Superb in his apparel, his furniture, and his equipage; his palace was the ſchool of education for the ſons of the nobility; and prince Henry himſelf was committed to his care and tuition. Some idea of his reſources may be formed from the circumſtance of fifty-two clerks being employed in adjuſting his private accounts; ſome conjecture of his laviſh expenditure may be drawn from his train, in which were enrolled three hundred knights; and when he negociated the marriage between the ſon of Henry and the daughter of Lewis, Paris was aſtoniſhed at the retinue of a ſubject which exceeded one thouſand perſons. Above the opinion or the cenſure of the world, his amuſements burſt through the circle of eccleſiaſ-

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tical propriety; the numerous hours which he ſet apart from buſineſs were appropriated to hawks and hounds; theſe ſports were frequently exchanged for the martial exerciſes of the field: His ſkill in the tournament has provoked the reproachful praiſe of the hiſtorian; and his triumph in Normandy over a French nobleman of approved valour and dexterity, whom he unhorſed, and whoſe courſer he led away, was no ſmall ornament to his character in a daring and warlike age.

Such were the ſingular features of the man, whom Henry, contrary to the advice of his mother Matilda, determined to place on the archiepiſcopal throne of England. The death of Theobald was followed by the appointment of Thomas Becket to the vacant See of Canterbury; and in a devout and ſuperſtitious age, the authority and influence which were annexed to the dangerous promotion, were ſufficient to overwhelm a feeble and to embarraſs the moſt firm monarch. Even Henry himſelf, haughty and intrepid as he was, beheld with terror the formidable power of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, when guided by the abilities and animated by the invincible ſpirit of Becket. From the moment that prelate was tranſlated to the ſacred dignity, his life and manners proclaimed the change of his condition; his garments were coarſe, his repaſts abſtemious;

abſtemious; he practiſed with unrelenting ſeverity all the auſterities of his order, and his back was frequently bloody with the diſcipline of the cord: But under the maſk of humility he concealed an inordinate and turbulent pride; and his labours were inceſſantly directed to raiſe the mitre above the crown.

From the indignation of his ſovereign, whom he had preſumed to inſult and defy, A. D. Becket eſcaped to Flanders, and was 1164, 1168. readily fortified by the Papal authority, and honoured by a viſit from the king of France. When driven by the menaces of Henry from the convent of Pontigny, he was hoſpitably received by Lewis, at Sens, who allowed him an honourable retreat in the convent of St. Colombe. The perſecution of the former was averted by the protection of the latter; and the diſcordant ſentiments of the two monarchs ſoon diſplayed themſelves in open hoſtilities. The territories of the count of Auvergne, a vaſſal of the crown of France, were invaded by Henry; and Lewis, to divert the fury of his arms, and to ſupport the ſinking cauſe of the count, entered with a powerful army into Normandy. A war, which had been haſtily embarked in, was ſucceeded by a tranſient truce; and the ſword was ſcarcely ſheathed before it was drawn again. The barons of Poitou and Guienne,

Guienne, diſſatisfied with Henry, who had endeavoured to abridge their privileges, liſtened to the promiſes of Lewis, who inflamed their diſcontents and encouraged the ſpirit of revolt. The ſtandard of oppoſition to their ſovereign was openly erected; and for their perſeverance in their alliance with France, they even delivered hoſtages to that crown. Henry, informed of their diſaffection, with an army ſuperior to reſiſtance, ravaged the open country, razed the caſtles of the rebels, and levelled to the ground the revolted towns: But Poitou ſtill confided in the friendly arms of France; and Henry in vain accuſed the treachery of that prince, and demanded the hoſtages which he had received from his faithleſs ſubjects. The refuſal of Lewis was peremptory; and although he conſented to extend the duration of the truce, yet the interval was aſſiduouſly employed in reanimating the ſpirits of the Poitevins, and in exciting a freſh inſurrection in Brittany. This was ſcarce quelled by the preſence and activity of the king of England, before the contagion of revolt pervaded and broke out in the province of Maine, and Lewis ſeized the favourable opportunity again to invade Normandy. Yet his progreſs was ſlow and indeciſive; and while he ſubmitted to the mortification of retreating on the approach of his rival,

rival, his rear was ſuddenly attacked and routed by the vigorous charge of Henry.

The repeated diſappointments of Lewis induced him at length to liſten to the voice of peace; and the differences of the rival monarchs were adjuſted in a conference at Montmirail. The homage of Henry, and of his ſons, Henry and Richard, was accepted for Normandy, Anjou and Maine, Guienne, and the county of Brittany, which had been ſettled by the king of England on his younger ſon Geoffrey, and whoſe abſence was ſupplied in the ceremony by his elder brother Henry. But Lewis was not entirely indifferent to the intereſt of Becket, whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed, and whoſe protection had firſt kindled the flame of war: His powerful mediation was anſwered by the moderation of Henry; "I "am not," ſaid the monarch, "the leaſt in power "and reputation of the ſovereigns who have ruled "the kingdom of England; and men equally "good and holy as Becket have, doubtleſs, poſ-"ſeſſed the See of Canterbury: yet I am content "to reſtore him to the archiepiſcopal throne, pro-"vided he will pay the ſame reſpect to me as the "moſt powerful of his predeceſſors have paid to "the moſt inſignificant of mine." But this reaſonable propoſal was rejected or eluded by the haughty and inflexible prelate; the condition was

A. D. 1168.

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ſtill clogged with the reſervation of the honour of God and the privileges of the church; and Lewis, relinquiſhing the vain hope of accommodation, was content to continue to Becket his aſſurances of perſonal ſupport and protection.

The reader will probably be impatient to haſten to the fate of that turbulent man: A reconciliation was at length effected, by the united efforts of the king of France and pope Alexander the Third, and Becket re-croſſed the ſeas, and once more occupied the ſee of Canterbury. But his arrogant ſpirit had not been humbled by adverſity; he launched forth his thunders againſt his former opponents; ſuſpended the archbiſhop of York, and excommunicated the biſhops of London and Saliſbury. Henry was in Normandy while the tranquillity of his kingdom was violated by the frantic proceedings of the turbulent prelate; and he received the mortifying intelligence with the moſt acrimonious expreſſions againſt the preſumptuous churchman. The exclamation, "that "he had no friends about him, otherwiſe he would "not have been ſo long expoſed to the inſults of "that ungrateful hypocrite," ſunk deep in the minds of four of his moſt reſolute attendants; they determined to gratify their ſovereign's ſecret inclinations; and after an oath to revenge his quarrel,

quarrel, they retired from court, and embarked for England.

Their ſudden departure, and ſome menacing expreſſions which had eſcaped them, alarmed the mind of the king; and fearful of the event, he ſent after them, to forbid their committing any violence: But the fatal deed was already perpetrated; the conſpirators, after reproaching, had followed the devoted victim to veſpers; and as ſoon as Becket reached the altar, their rage was ſatiated, and the life of the archbiſhop extinguiſhed by repeated wounds. The ſacred pavement was ſtained with the blood of his mangled body; the holy altar itſelf was beſmeared with his brains; and the circumſtances of the murder, the place where it was executed, and the fortitude with which the prelate had reſigned himſelf to his fate, impreſſed a devoutly factious multitude. Years of licentious revelry and turbulent ambition were effaced by the ſufferings of a ſingle moment; and the preſumption and obſtinacy of Becket were rewarded with the glory of martyrdom. His ſhrine was the ſcene of innumerable miracles; and Henry found the archbiſhop, when dead, equally formidable as when alive. The intelligence of his fate had been received by that monarch with real or affected concern: By the moſt humiliating conceſſions, he with difficulty diſarmed A. D. 1172

diſarmed the reſentment of the pope; and the arrogant ſpirit of the martyr himſelf muſt have been gratified and appeaſed, could it have foreſeen the proſtrate poſture of the monarch at his tomb, and the ſevere penance which he endured.

A. D. 1172. We have already obſerved that the very alliances between the kings of France and England, which ought to have enſured their friendſhip, were the frequent ſource of their diſcord. Henry had cauſed his eldeſt ſon to be crowned in England, while his conſort was in France; and Lewis, to efface or avenge the affront, turned his arms againſt the Duchy of Normandy. But the prudence of the king of England extinguiſhed this ſpark of hoſtility almoſt as ſoon as it was kindled; he promiſed that the ceremony of the coronation ſhould be again repeated; and Margaret was ſolemnly crowned at Wincheſter with her huſband, by the archbiſhop of Rouen, and the biſhops of Evreux and Wincheſter. On the return of the young couple to Normandy, they were permitted to viſit the court of France; and Lewis firſt poiſoned the mind of his ſon-in-law with that ardent deſire of independence, the origin of equal affliction to his father and himſelf. Greedy of power, and impatient of control, the heir of the throne conſidered himſelf eclipſed and oppreſſed by the virtues and glory of him who filled it;

it; and whatever place was the reſidence of his parent, became immediately hateful to the aſpiring ſon. The term for his viſit in France expired; he had returned to England with reluctance; and diſguſted with a ſituation of reſtraint, he now eſcaped from the court of Henry to ſeek ſhelter in that of Lewis. The pretence that his life was in danger thinly concealed his want of filial duty; but Lewis received the royal fugitive with open arms, and prepared to avenge his ideal injuries by the ſword. The policy of the king of France was matured by age and experience; in ſucceſſive negociations he had been duped by the ſuperior genius of Henry; and ſenſible of former errors, he was inflamed by the deſire of retrieving his reputation: The preſent opportunity was favourable, and he was determined to improve it to the utmoſt. He was convinced that Henry ſtill remembered with indignation, the aſſiſtance and protection which he had afforded to Becket; that he only waited till his own kingdom was in a ſtate of internal tranquillity to reſent it; and that it was his buſineſs, by continual diſturbances at home, to engage his attention, and to prevent his ambition from proving troubleſome to his neighbours abroad.

On every ſide, the ſituation of Henry preſented difficulties which muſt have overwhelmed

a mind leſs firm or leſs fruitful in reſources: The pope ſtill nouriſhed a ſecret reſentment of the fate of Becket; while the Engliſh regarded with reverence the tomb of the martyr, and loudly accuſed their ſovereign as the author of his death. On the one ſide, William, king of Scotland, formidable from his ſituation, and hoſtile in his diſpoſition, menaced him with invaſion; on the other, his new acquiſitions in Ireland, a country which had lately ſubmitted to his government, required his attention. Prompted by Lewis, his ſon Henry demanded the abſolute inveſtiture of Normandy; and on his refuſal, the father beheld with aſtoniſhment, the ſtandard of revolt joined by his queen Eleanor, and his younger ſons Richard and Geoffrey: The nobles of Normandy, of Anjou, Guienne, and Britanny were already in arms; and the king, ſurrounded with open and ſecret enemies, could only confide in his abilities, and the juſtice of his cauſe.

A. D. 1173. Lewis, animated by the diſtreſs of his rival and the unanimity of his own ſubjects, by force and fraud rendered himſelf maſter of Vernueil, and delivered it to the flames; but the appearance of Henry, at the head of an army inured to danger, fatigue, and diſcipline, checked his further progreſs, and even expoſed his rear to defeat and diſgrace. The different confederates

confederates who had promiſed to eſpouſe the cauſe of the prince, either deſerted their engagements, or were baffled by the ſuperior ſkill of their ſovereign: William of Scotland, harraſſed and purſued, was glad to ſubſcribe the peace which was proffered him; and the banner of inſurrection, which had been unfurled in Brittany, was followed by the total rout of thoſe who had reſorted to it. Depreſſed by theſe unexpected diſappointments, the mind of Lewis for a moment inclined to peace; conferences were opened at Giſors, but they only ended in mutual reproaches; and a ſhort truce for the Eaſter holidays, which was afterwards agreed upon, allowed both parties to prepare more effectually for war.

To appeaſe the murmurs of his people, Henry ſubmitted his back to the ſcourge of the Monks, and watched a whole night near Becket's tomb. Whatever might be the merit of that ſaint's interceſſion, the mortification of Lewis was ſevere and unqualified; the moment that his hand was ſtretched out to ſeize it, the viſionary conqueſts eluded his graſp, and his dream of proſperity vaniſhed from his ſight. The earl of Flanders lamented his unſucceſsful attempt on England; the king of Scotland, who had violated the peace, was taken priſoner at Alnwick; the revolted barons returned once more to their alle- A. D. 1174.

giance; and Lewis, accompanied by the young prince Henry, was compelled by the approach of the king of England to raiſe the ſiege of Rouen, which he had inveſted. This laſt diſgrace determined the French monarch to renew the negociations for peace; with an honourable regard for the princes who had confided in his protection, their intereſts were firſt provided for; but Richard, who rejected the treaty, was left to the diſcretion of his father, and a tranſient tranquillity was reſtored between the rival kingdoms.

A. D. 1177. The terms of reconciliation were ſcarce adjuſted, before they were once more menaced by the remonſtrances of Lewis. Alice, his youngeſt daughter, was betrothed to Richard, the ſecond ſon of the king of England; and the king of France loudly accuſed the evaſive conduct of Henry, who retained the princeſs at his court, without ſolemnizing the marriage: The anſwer of Henry was a demand of the city of Bourges, which had been promiſed as the dowry of Alice. This engagement was denied by Lewis, and the monarchs agreed to refer the diſpute to the arbitration of the pope. But the Roman pontiff waved the diſcuſſion, to turn the united arms of the princes to the relief of the Holy Land. Henry and Lewis both received the croſs, and both ſettled their mutual preparations for executing

their

their ſolemn engagement; yet neither of theſe monarchs embarked in the perilous undertaking. The ardour of Lewis was cooled by his former misfortunes, and the nobility of France ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt the hazardous and unprofitable enterpriſe: While Henry, whoſe abſolution for the murder of Becket had been purchaſed by a ſolemn vow of invading Paleſtine, when ſummoned by the pope, ſtill found the embarraſſed ſituation of his affairs demanded his preſence in his own dominions.

An anxious regard for the ſucceſſion of his crown and the tranquillity of his kingdom, had induced Lewis to beſtow his hand on his preſent conſort; and his wiſhes had been gratified by a ſon, to whom he had given the name of Philip. But the fears of the monarch were ſoon awakened by the danger of the prince: As the royal youth, whoſe tender years were ſcarce equal to the taſk, purſued the chace in the foreſt of Compeigne, his horſe run away with him; and ſequeſtered from the ſearch of his attendants, the heir of France was condemned to paſs a tedious night, oppreſſed by ſolitude and deſpair. His feeble mind was not capable of ſuſtaining the horror of his ſituation; and when found in the morning, a dangerous fit of illneſs was the effect of the fright. The pious father determined to A. D. 1179.

viſit the tomb of Becket, and ſolicit the interpoſition of a ſaint, who had experienced his earthly protection. He was received at Canterbury by Henry with royal hoſpitality and magnificence: After having preſented his offerings at the ſhrine of Thomas, he embarked again for France, and his arrival was attended by the welcome intelligence of the recovery of his ſon.

A. D. 1179, 1180. But the agitation of his mind had fatally affected the health of Lewis, already rapidly deſcending into the vale of years. His life was aſſailed by a ſudden ſtroke of apoplexy; and though his ſenſes were reſtored, yet the palſy ſeized his right ſide, and announced the danger that impended over him. Senſible of his doubtful ſituation, he determined to haſten the coronation of his ſon; and the ceremony was performed in the preſence of the heir of England, and the count of Flanders, by the archbiſhop of Rheims. To this important care ſucceeded the marriage of the prince; and Philip, at the age of fourteen, eſpouſed Iſabella, the daughter of Baldwin, count of Hainault. But the tranquillity of Lewis was eſtabliſhed too late, and the progreſs of diſeaſe could not be checked by the proſpect of happineſs; in the ſixtieth year of his age, and the forty-fourth year of his reign, he expired at Paris; and if the prudence and judgment of the king,

king, in reſtoring the dowry of Eleanor, have been arraigned, his humanity has been ſeldom and his piety has never been impeached: A tender huſband and an affectionate father, the errors of the monarch were loſt in the virtues of the man.

Chapter the Eighth.

ACCESSION OF PHILIP THE SECOND, SURNAMED AUGUSTUS; — EMBARKS FOR THE HOLY LAND WITH RICHARD OF ENGLAND. — SIEGE OF ACRE. — PHILIP RETURNS TO FRANCE. — SUCCESSIVE WARS WITH RICHARD AND JOHN. — BATTLE OF BOUVINES. — DEATH AND CHARACTER OF PHILIP.

PHILIP when he aſſumed the reins of government was but in the fifteenth year of his age. The count of Flanders, the uncle of his queen, was ſuffered to enjoy the name and honours of regent; but although his counſels might influence, his authority was never permitted to control the inclination of the youthful monarch; and his ſubjects might diſcern an unbounded thirſt of dominion, a jealous zeal for the royal prerogative, in their new ſovereign. From his birth, which eſtabliſhed the peaceable ſucceſſion to the crown of France, Philip attained the expreſſive ſurname of the *Gift of God*. The voice of flattery in his more mature years had gratified his vanity with the appellation of

of *Conqueror*, and the *Magnanimous*; and after his death, the policy he had diſplayed was productive of the addition of *Auguſtus*. The firſt and laſt of theſe names might be due to the auſpicious moment in which he entered the world, and the manner in which he conducted himſelf through it; but his rage for *conqueſt* was checked by the perſonal valour of Richard of England and his *magnanimity* is but ill atteſted by the envious perfidy with which he deſerted that prince on the hoſtile coaſt of Paleſtine.

In a licentious age, the attention of the king of France was invariably engaged to maintain the dignity of his character; and the court was purged by his ſeverity of a motley train of buffoons and jeſters, whoſe coarſe wit and mimic geſtures were the delight of a people, yet ignorant of that politeneſs and refinement for which they have been ſince ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed. To theſe perſonal cares ſucceeded others of a more public nature: The murmurs of the people loudly accuſed the wealth of the Jews, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of one-third of the landed property throughout the dominions of Philip. Their riches, the fruits of oppreſſive uſury, had procured them the patronage and protection of the nobles; but the determination of the king while it offended the barons gratified the commons; and this miſerable and fugitive race were compelled A. D. 1180.

compelled to retire from the territory of France, with only their perſonal effects. The mercenary ſoldiers who had ſerved in the wars of his father, had ſpread themſelves over the defenceleſs country, and indulged themſelves in every ſpecies of wanton outrage; they were reduced or deſtroyed by the arts and forces of Philip; to provide in future againſt a ſimilar evil, and to embelliſh the cities which acknowledged his authority, he commanded the inhabitants to pave and to ſurround with walls ſufficient for their immediate ſecurity, the towns in which they dwelt; and the progreſs of the work was haſtened by the preſence of the king himſelf, whoſe vigilant eye pervaded every part of his dominions.

The jealouſies of the court began already to threaten the public tranquillity. Adelaide, the mother of the king, was inflamed by the partiality of her ſon to the count of Flanders, who, without children himſelf, had beſtowed on his niece the royal dowry of the county of Artois, and the diſtrict fertilized by the river Lys: With the queen dowager was joined her brother William, cardinal and archbiſhop of Rheims. But their intrigues to diſſolve the marriage with Iſabella were vain; and the diſpleaſure of Philip was diſplayed by appointing the coronation of himſelf and his conſort at the Abbey of St. Denys, and receiving his crown

crown from the hands of the archbiſhop of Sens, inſtead of thoſe of the archbiſhop of Rheims. Adelaide, to ſupport her faction, implored the aſſiſtance of Henry of England; who liſtened with pleaſure to her requeſt, repaired immediately to Normandy, and received with great reſpect the queen herſelf, and her brothers, the counts of Blois, Sancerre, and Chartres. With a numerous army he advanced to ſecond their demands; but Philip was already prepared to encounter this hereditary foe; and the king of England, doubtful of the event, preferred to the chance of battle the arts of negociation. Even in theſe, the early wiſdom of Philip was conſpicuous; averſe to either extreme he rejected the preſumptuous claims of the rebels, and the advice of the count of Flanders, to decide the diſpute by the ſword. To his mother he profeſſed the duty of a ſon, but at the ſame time aſſerted the independent authority of a ſovereign; to the lords, who had engaged in the revolt, he offered a free pardon; and their ready ſubmiſſion broke the meaſures of Henry, who conſented to retire, after confirming the former peace between the crowns of France and England.

The partiality of the king to the count of Flanders had been the origin of the former rupture; yet but a ſhort time elapſed before that nobleman himſelf revolted againſt A. D. 1180, 1182.

gainſt the royal authority. He had beheld with diſguſt his counſels neglected, and an accommodation preferred to the hazard of war; his diſguſt was encreaſed by the powerful motives of intereſt. The counteſs of Flanders was a princeſs of the royal blood, and the heireſs of the count of Vermandois; her huſband, on her death without iſſue, aſſerted his right to the ſucceſſion confirmed by the ſeparate grants of Lewis and Philip. But the king of France was too deeply intereſted in ſo important an acquiſition, to be reſtrained by the common ties of equity, and his claims aſſumed an appearance of juſtice from his declaration, that the grant was only for the life of the counteſs. Arms alone could decide the diſpute, and the count of Flanders in vain endeavoured to allure the barons to his ſtandard, by repreſenting the injury as general, and the cauſe as common. Almoſt alone and unſupported, he was compelled to yield, and thought himſelf happy to attain by a compromiſe the towns of Perron and St. Quintin, and to ſurrender the reſt of the county of Vermandois to the crown.

A. D. 1184. The aſſociation of the younger Henry to the throne of England has been already remarked, and his father had conſtant reaſon to repent his haſty partiality to an ungrateful ſon.

ſon. Vain, fickle, and turbulent, his repeated rebellions had broken the happineſs and aſſailed the life of his parent; continually baffled and pardoned, his diſappointed ſpirit urged him at length to aſſume the croſs; and while he prepared for his departure to the Holy Land, he was ſeized with a mortal indiſpoſition at Martel, in the county of Turrenne. His laſt expreſſions were thoſe of penitence, and his death opened the path of royalty to his brother Richard, equally reſtleſs and more enterpriſing. His widow, the daughter of the late king of France, by his ſecond wife Conſtance, had lived childleſs in his embraces; and Philip now claimed Giſors, and ſome other dependencies in Normandy, which had been allotted as the dowry of Margaret; but Henry, unwilling to part with them, offered to conclude the marriage between Richard, now become the heir of the crown, and Alice, the ſiſter of Philip, provided he was ſuffered to retain the diſputed territory: The propoſal was acquieſced in, and the monarchs parted with mutual profeſſions of eſteem and friendſhip.

The moments that could be raviſhed from the national enmity and hoſtile encounters of England and France, Philip aſſiduouſly employed in the internal regulation A. D. 1185, 1188.

lation of his dominions, and in repreſſing the formidable enterpriſes of the duke of Burgundy and the count of Flanders. But the calm produced by the late peace was of ſhort duration, and the ſubjects of Philip and Henry were ſoon again agitated by the tempeſt of war. The marriage of Alice with Richard was ſtill ſtudiouſly delayed; Geoffrey, the ſecond ſon of Henry, and duke of Brittany, had revolted from his father, and acknowledged himſelf the vaſſal of France; his undutiful deſigns were interrupted by death, and he expired of a fall from his horſe at a tournament. But Philip retained from Henry, his widow Conſtance, his infant daughter Eleanor, and a poſthumous ſon named Arthur; and aſſerted his claim to protect and watch over the offspring of his vaſſal. Richard had alſo refuſed to yield homage to the king of France, for the counties of Guienne and Poitou; and Philip, after experiencing the ineffectual mediation of cardinal Octavian, the legate of the pope, invaded with a formidable army, Berry, and laid ſiege to Chateauroux, on the Banks of the Indre. The ſpirits of the garriſon were animated by the preſence of Richard and John, the ſons of the Engliſh monarch; and Henry himſelf, alarmed for the ſafety of the princes, haſtily collected his forces, and advanced toward their relief. In anxious ſuſpence, the hoſtile armies

mies awaited the ſignal of battle, and the dawning glory of Philip was oppoſed by the mature renown of Henry; but the encounter was averted by the legates of pope Urban the Third: Theſe thundered their anathemas againſt the firſt who ſhould begin the engagement. The devotion of the princes wreſted their weapons from their hands; a peace was immediately concluded; and the rival monarchs engaged to unite their forces for the relief of the chriſtians in Paleſtine, oppreſſed by the victorious career of the great Saladin.

The birth of a ſon and heir, who was named Lewis, ſlackened not the preparations for war; and the clergy were compelled, though reluctantly, to contribute large ſums toward the propoſed expedition: Theſe were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Saladin's tax, expreſſive of the purpoſe for which they were levied. Yet when the hopes of the Oriental chriſtians were awakened, and the flame of enthuſiaſm was again kindled in the weſt, the arms of Philip and Henry were once more turned againſt each other; and the forces which might have checked the progreſs, and over-turned the empire of the infidels, were ineffectually conſumed in their bloody conflicts. A. D. 1187.

Richard was diſcontented with the inceſſant de-

lays

A. D. 1188. lays which conſtantly impeded his marriage with Alice; and Philip nouriſhed his riſing diſaffection, and prepared to avail himſelf of the continual diſcord which afflicted the family and embarraſſed the affairs of the Engliſh monarch: He himſelf ſuggeſted to the impetuous prince, to renew the former quarrel with the count of Toulouſe; and under pretence of avenging the inſult, the king of France entered Berry, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Chateauroux, Buſencais, Argenton, and Leuroux. Mont-Richard was taken by aſſault, and reduced to aſhes; and with equal facility he extended his conqueſts over Touraine and Auvergne.

The age of Henry did not prevent him from taking the field to oppoſe the youth of his rival: The veteran warrior buckled on his armour; but doubtful of the event of war, he propoſed that inſtead of Richard, his ſon John ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Alice. The offer was rejected by Philip and by Richard, who now openly acted with him; even the mediation and menaces of the pope's legate were treated with ſcorn by the king of France, and his ſacred life was with difficulty preſerved from the ſword of the Britiſh prince. The conference was broken off to reſume the opeations of war; Philip and Richard entered the province of Main; forced the gates of Ferté-

Bernard,

Bernard on the river Huiſne; received the ſubmiſſion of Monfort, Bonneſtable, and Beaumont; and almoſt ſurpriſed Henry, aſtoniſhed at their progreſs, in the city of Mans. From the flames of that city he eſcaped to Frenelles; while the confederates advanced with uninterrupted ſucceſs, and the ſtandard of France was planted on the walls of Tours, and diſplayed on the Banks of the Loire.

Fortune had forſaken the declining age of Henry, and he was compelled A. D. 1189. to purchaſe a peace by renewing his homage to Philip, and conſenting to the coronation of Richard. The marriage of that prince with Alice, was to be celebrated on his return from the Holy Land, and he was gratified with the immediate payment of twenty thouſand marks of ſilver. The treaty was ſigned at Azay; and in two days afterwards Henry expired at Chinon, his laſt moments embittered by the ingratitude of his ſon John, who had deſerted his father to join the ſtandard and partake the proſperity of Philip.

That monarch might well exult at the proſpect before him; he had humA. D. 1190. bled the turbulent pride of his nobles at home, and eſtabliſhed his reputation abroad; he was delivered by the death of Henry from a dangerous and vigilant rival; and Richard, his ſucceſſor, was bound to him by the ties of gratitude, and the

ſanctity of oaths. Inſatiate of fame, and enamoured of war, the kings of France and England prepared to fulfil their engagements, and unfurl the ſacred banner of the croſs; while Richard ſailed from Marſeilles, Philip embarked at Genoa, after having entruſted the adminiſtration of his kingdom, under certain reſtrictions, to his mother Adelaide and the cardinal archbiſhop of Rheims.

After eſcaping a tempeſt which ſcattered the royal fleet of France, Philip caſt anchor on the coaſt of Sicily, and in eight days afterwards beheld the ſails of Richard enter the port of Meſſina. The iſland was governed by Tancred, whoſe regal title was diſputed by Conſtance, the wife of the emperor Henry, the ſtedfaſt ally of the French monarch; and Jane, the dowager queen, and ſiſter of Richard, was a priſoner to the reigning prince. The appearance of two powerful armaments, commanded by leaders who had ſuch plauſible ſubjects of complaint, and whoſe moderation there was too much reaſon to diſtruſt, excited the moſt painful ſenſations in the boſom of Tancred; but his throne was ſecured by the mutual jealouſies of the rival kings; and the narrow iſland of Sicily was nearly converted into the theatre of their hoſtilities. Richard, to extort a ſum of money from Tancred, which he aſſerted was due to him, attacked the city of Meſſina;

and

and Philip, with the forces of France, prepared to defend it. With difficulty they were prevailed on to ſubmit their differences to the calmer tribunal of reaſon: The marriage of Alice was ſtill the thorn which rankled in their boſoms; Philip conſented to receive again his ſiſter, and Richard promiſed to reſtore Giſors, and the other places which had been ſo long retained as her dowry. Richard eſpouſed the daughter of Sanchez, king of Navarre; and after reducing the iſland of Cyprus, and impriſoning Iſaac the ſovereign, he purſued his voyage to the Holy Land, and caſt anchor in the Bay of Acre, where he already found the fleet of France.

The combined forces of theſe monarchs, powerful as they were, did not exceed the diſtreſs of the Chriſtians of the eaſt, and the difficulties which on every ſide oppoſed their enthuſiaſtic enterpriſe. After the male line of Godfrey was extinct, the ſceptre of Jeruſalem was weakly held by Sybilla, the daughter of Baldwin, and the grand-daughter of Fulk, count of Anjou. Her fond partiality after the death of her child, had transferred it to her ſecond huſband, Guy of Luſignan, a prince of a handſome perſon, but of ſuch baſe renown, that his own brother Geoffrey was heard to exclaim, "Since they have made *him* a king, ſurely "they would have made me a god." Raymond,

count of Tripoli, the moſt powerful vaſſal of the crown, beheld the elevation of Luſignan with ſecret indignation; and excluded from the ſucceſſion and regency, entertained an implacable hatred againſt the king, and expoſed his honour and conſcience to the temptations of the ſultan.

That title was due to the virtues and power of Saladin the *Great*, a name immortalized in the annals of Oriental hiſtory. The ſervices of his father and uncle, Job and Shiracouh, had opened to him the road to greatneſs; his powerful hand wreſted the ſceptre from the infant offſpring of Noureddin; but although he uſurped the throne he reſpected the life of the ſon of his benefactor; and the new lord of Egypt was decorated by the caliph with every title that could ſanctify his uſurpation in the eyes of the people. During a reign invariably proſperous he ſucceſſively ſtretched his authority over Damaſcus, Aleppo, and Diarbekir; Mecca and Medina acknowledged him for their temporal protector; the regions of Gemen or Happy Arabia, were ſubdued by his brother; Jeruſalem was raviſhed from the Chriſtians; and at the hour of his death, his empire was ſpread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia. Intrepid and devout, he might boaſt of uniting the virtues of the hero and the ſaint: His youth had indeed been ſtained with the love of women and wine;

wine; but theſe temptations ſoon yielded to the more potent one of ambition. A coarſe woollen was his garment; water was his only drink; and while he emulated the temperance, he ſurpaſſed the chaſtity of his Arabian prophet. Affable in his manners, and boundleſs in his liberality, he was patient with the meaneſt of his ſervants; and at the time of his death no more than forty-ſeven drams of ſilver and one piece of gold were found in his treaſury. In a reign of inceſſant warfare the tributes had been diminiſhed, yet his dominions were embelliſhed by the royal foundations of hoſpitals, colleges, and moſques.

The ſinking kingdom of Jeruſalem had been preſſed on every ſide by the victories of Saladin; the contracted ſtate was encircled with a hoſtile line, and its exiſtence was only protected by the truce which the Franks preſumed to violate. Reginald, of Chatillon, a ſoldier of fortune, had ſeized a fortreſs on the edge of the deſert, from whence he pillaged the caravans, and threatened the cities of Mecca and Medina. The ſultan condeſcended to complain; rejoiced in the denial of juſtice; and at the head of fourſcore thouſand horſe invaded the Holy Land. The ſiege of Tiberias was ſuggeſted by the perfidious count of Tripoli; and at the inſtigation of the ſame traitor, Luſignan drained his garriſons A. D. 1187.

and advanced to the relief of it. By the arts of Raymond, the chriſtians were betrayed into a camp deſtitute of water; the count himſelf fled at the firſt onſet; Luſignan, with the loſs of thirty thouſand men, became the priſoner of the Sultan; and three months after the battle of Tiberias, the victor appeared in arms before the gates of Jeruſalem.

The holy city ſtill contained ſixty thouſand Chriſtians; and in the defence of the ſepulchre of Chriſt it might reaſonably have been expected that every Chriſtian would have proved a ſoldier. But the devoted walls were ſhaken by the factions of thoſe who ſhould have united for the defence of them: Queen Sybilla trembled for herſelf and her captive huſband; and the moſt numerous portion of the inhabitants, the Greek and Oriental Chriſtians, preferred, from experience, the Mahometan before the Latin yoke. The reſiſtance of the beſieged was languid and ineffectual; fourteen days had ſcarce elapſed before the banners of the faithful were planted on the breach; and the humanity of the conqueror conſented to accept the proſtrate city and to ſpare the ſuppliant inhabitants. The Greek and Oriental Chriſtians were permitted to live under his dominſon; the Franks and Latins were conducted to the ſea ports of Syria and Egypt; ten pieces of gold were required

quired for each man, five for each woman, and one for every child; and thoſe who were unable to purchaſe their liberty, were to be detained in perpetual ſlavery.

The rapid and victorious career of Saladin was at length checked by the reſiſtance of Tyre: To that port the troops and garriſons which had capitulated, were ſucceſſively conducted; and their numbers were united and diſciplined by the prudence and ſkill of Conrad, marquis of Montferrat. Their forces were ſwelled by the gradual arrival of ſuccours from Genoa, Piſa, and Venice; from France, Normandy, and the weſtern iſles. The impatient multitude burſt from the walls of the city, rejected the counſels and command of Conrad, and at the perſuaſion of Luſignan, who had been releaſed from priſon, formed the ſiege of Ptolemais or Acre. Above a year had already been conſumed in the arduous undertaking; the Moſlems of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and the Oriental provinces had aſſembled under the command of Saladin; his camp was pitched within a few miles of Acre; and the Chriſtians, though victorious in many a bloody encounter, thinned by famine, the ſword, and the climate, already began to ſink beneath deſpair; when, in the ſecond ſpring of the ſiege, their hopes were revived

and their enemies diſmayed by the appearance of the royal fleets of France and England.

The peculiar circumſtances of theſe monarchs had compelled them to embrace, or at leaſt to affect a reconciliation; but they ſcarce had landed before new cauſes of diſcontent miniſtered to their ancient enmity. Sybilla had expired without iſſue, and the crown of Jeruſalem was claimed by the marquis of Montferrat, who had married the younger ſiſter of that princeſs, and who aſſerted that the reign of Luſignan ended with the life of his conſort. The pretenſions of Conrad were ſupported by Philip; the regal title of Guy was fortified by Richard; and the Chriſtian camp was ſcandalized by the unanimity of the infidels, and the diſcord of their own leaders. It was at length agreed to poſtpone the deciſion of this important diſpute, and to preſs with redoubled vigour the ſiege of Acre. With rival valour they urged their ſeparate attacks; the walls were ſhaken by their machines; and the attempts of Saladin were repelled by their vigilance and firmneſs: Their youthful emulation triumphed over every obſtacle; and the garriſon of Acre, no longer animated by hope, ſubmitted to their fate, and opened their gates to the victors. Their lives and liberties were ranſomed by two hundred thouſand pieces of gold; the city was divided between

between the victorious kings of England and France; and each monarch eſtabliſhed a ſeparate and independent authority within the diſtricts aſſigned him.

Even in the moment of victory, the chriſtians might deplore the loſs with which it was attended; and Philip, beſides an obſcure and nameleſs multitude, might lament the counts of Flanders, Bar, Blois, Sancerre, Eu, and Ponthieu, with a long liſt of nobles of inferior rank but equal gallantry. His own health was conſiderably impaired by the heat of the climate: Although perſonally brave, the ſtateſman predominated in his character; and he was weary of ſacrificing his time and intereſt on a barren coaſt, where he was eclipſed by the ſuperior military renown of Richard. The diſpute between Guy of Luſignan, and Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, was indeed terminated: Guy retained for his life the crown of Jeruſalem, with Jaffa and Cæſarea; the two latter, with the title of count, he tranſmitted to his poſterity; but the kingdom after his deceaſe was transferred to Conrad, and was to be perpetuated in his iſſue. One cauſe of diſcord between the rival monarchs was thus happily removed; but the holy ſervice was ſtill diſturbed by their national jealouſy; and the two factions which they protected in Paleſtine, raged A. D. 1191.

with

with unabated violence. But the ſurrender of Acre was the ſignal of Philip's departure, and he determined to hoiſt his ſails for his native coaſt. To the marquis of Montferrat he aſſigned that part of Acre, which had acknowledged his authority: To juſtify his unpopular deſertion, he left the duke of Burgundy, with five hundred knights and ten thouſand foot, for the continuance of the holy warfare; and to the king of England he engaged his ſolemn oath, not to attack his dominions or his vaſſals during his abſence. His voyage was proſperous; but the fidelity of the hiſtorian is compelled to reveal with a bluſh, the perfidy of his conduct. Landing in Naples, he directed his ſteps to Rome, and unveiled the ſecret motives of his viſit by earneſtly, yet ineffectually, ſoliciting the Roman pontiff, Celeſtin the Third, to abſolve him from the oath which he had taken to Richard.

Each tranſaction declared the eternal enmity with which he purſued, the ſecret terror with which he beheld his royal rival. The marquis of Montferrat, in the hour of confidence, and in the midſt of Tyre, had periſhed by the dagger of aſſaſſins, the ſubjects of the Sheick or Old Man of the Mountain; the public voice loudly accuſed Richard as the author of the murder; and the proof of his innocence, a pretended letter from the

the Sheick, is rejected as an abſurd and palpable forgery. Philip, above the reſt, inſinuated the guilt of the king, and dreaded, or affected to dread, a ſimilar fate. By ſplendid preſents he endeavoured to propitiate the Old Man of the Mountain; and by the advice of his council, a faithful and ſelect guard, with iron maces, attended his perſon night and day, and ſuffered no ſtranger to approach him. Artful and intriguing, he cloſely connected himſelf with John, the brother of Richard; and the death of Iſabella, during his abſence, diſſolving his nuptial ties, he offered his hand to Ingeberge, the daughter of Waldemar, and the ſiſter of Canute, king of Denmark; and only aſked in dowry, the obſolete claim of the Danes upon England, and the aſſiſtance of their fleet: Even theſe were refuſed; and Philip conſented to receive with a trifling portion, a princeſs, whoſe birth at firſt excited the murmurs, but whoſe manners afterwards conciliated and retained the affections of his ſubjects.

Full of glory, if glory is to be attained by a ferocious and brutal valour, Richard A. D. 1193
retired from a hopeleſs war in Paleſtine, where he had beheld, without being permitted to reſcue, the holy city of Jeruſalem from the dominion of the Moſlems. His laurels were blaſted by the prudence or envy of his companions; and even

even his perſonal freedom was violated by the baſe revenge of a prince who had ſerved under his banner, and who was irritated by a real or imaginary inſult at the ſiege of Acre. This prince was Leopold, duke of Auſtria, through whoſe territories the king of England, ſhip-wrecked on the coaſt of Dalmatia, endeavoured to paſs in diſguiſe. By Leopold he was ſold to the emperor, Henry the Sixth, a monarch whoſe avarice could only be equalled by his indigence. Philip, with tranſport received the tidings of his rival's captivity, and ſenſible how much he was intereſted in the continuance, in vain endeavoured, by profuſe offers, to obtain poſſeſſion of his perſon. He renewed his alliance with John of England, and declared war againſt Richard, contrary to the remonſtrances and inclinations of his nobles, who diſplayed an honourable reluctance to oppreſs a prince, the companion of their toils in Paleſtine. But the avidity of Philip was not to be reſtrained by the ſanctity of oaths or the laws of honour; he occupied Giſors, reduced the counties of Eu and Aumale, and advancing to Rouen, waſted his forces in the fruitleſs ſiege of that city. The menaces of the pope, and the indifferent ſucceſs of John in England, concurred in diſpoſing Philip to accept of the advantageous terms which were offered him; and he conſented to a peace,

on

on condition that he ſhould receive, after the releaſe of the king of England, twenty thouſand marks, at certain ſtipulated periods, and be immediately put in poſſeſſion of ſome caſtles, which he named, as ſecurity for the payment of that ſum.

By the mediation of the princes of the empire, the ranſom of the king of England was fixed at one hundred and fifty thouſand marks of ſilver; and the zeal and compaſſion of his ſubjects freely contributed their wealth to deliver a ſovereign, who had ruled them with a rod of iron, from the injurious bondage in which he was retained. The intrigues of the king of France to delay the moment of freedom were fruſtrated by the integrity of the nobles of Germany; and his ſenſations, when he found himſelf expoſed to the open reſentment of a warlike prince, whom he had ſo baſely and mortally injured, may be judged from his expreſſions in a letter to John, "Take care of yourſelf, for the "devil is unchained." The emperor and the princes of Germany had already threatened France with an invaſion, unleſs her monarch conſented to reſtore the places of which he had deprived his rival; and Philip conſidering this menace as a declaration of war, and deſirous by his activity to anticipate the hoſtile deſigns of his adverſary, A. D. 1193, 1194.

entered

entered Normandy with a powerful army. He had already inveſted Verneuil, when he was alarmed with the intelligence that John had reconciled himſelf to his brother, maſſacred the French garriſon in Evreux, and delivered it into the hands of the king of England; and that Richard himſelf, with a formidable force, had landed at Barfleur, and, impatient for action and eager for revenge, was rapidly advancing to the relief of Verneuil. With a light body of troops the king of France, by an unexpected march, ſurpriſed again the city of Evreux, and the lives of the Engliſh garriſon were ſacrificed to expiate the perfidy of John: But this advantage afforded Philip a vain and tranſient triumph; the main body of his army, which ſtill remained before Verneuil, aſtoniſhed at the abſence of their king, and diſmayed at the approach of Richard, diſbanded in confuſion; and Philip himſelf on his return, narrowly eſcaped the purſuit of his rival.

A. D. 1194. The language of peace on each ſide accompanied the preparations for war; but the feeble voice of the former was drowned by the ſound of the trumpet; and the hoſtile monarchs approached each other near Fretteval, between Chateaudun and Vendome. Philip was ſtill deſirous of avoiding a deciſive battle, and concealed his intentions of retreat by a defiance

to

to the king of England, "That the next morning "he might expect his attack." But Richard penetrated into the artifice of his rival; his anſwer was firm, and his meaſures prompt; and the king of France had ſcarce welcomed the return of his meſſenger, before he heard the ſhouts and beheld the banners of the Engliſh. The French were broken by the ſudden and impetuous charge, and Philip fled before the ſword of the lion-hearted Richard. His baggage, his military cheſt, with the moſt important papers of the ſtate, were the prey of the victor; and the latter, which Richard would never conſent to reſtore, were but imperfectly ſupplied by the memory of his miniſters.

Richard himſelf entered Guienne with his victorious army, and reduced the caſtles which had revolted. A. D. 1195. During the courſe of ſeveral months, fruitleſs negociations were interrupted by deſultory enterpriſes; Dieppe was ſurpriſed and pillaged by Philip; Iſſoudun was aſſaulted and captured by Richard; and the ſubjects of each might deplore, with reaſon, the unabated rage which burned in the boſoms of their indignant ſovereigns, and delivered France and Normandy to the miſeries of war. That rage was at length rather ſuſpended than extinguiſhed by their mutual weakneſs; they liſtened to the voice of reaſon, and the remonſtrances of the legate of the pope; and

and a truce for six months was followed by a treaty of peace, which from the place where it was concluded, has been called the peace of Louviers: The principal article it contained, besides restoring the places taken on each side, was the delivery of Alice to her brother Philip; and the Helen of France and England was permitted, after occasioning the effusion of so much blood, to bestow her hand on the count of Ponthieu.

A. D. 1196, 1199. The interest of the two kings had reciprocally inclined them to peace; yet their interests yielded to their unbridled passions, and six months had scarce elapsed before the treaty of Louviers was violated. Richard had razed the fortress of a vassal belonging to Philip; and the king of France, in defence of his dependant, invaded Normandy, and possessed himself of Aumale; but his progress was checked by Richard at the head of a small but veteran body of forces. In the course of this contest, the English monarch displayed a degree of policy hitherto unknown to his character: He attached the count of Toulouse to his party, by giving him in marriage his sister Jane, the widow of William, king of Sicily; he inflamed Baldwin, count of Flanders, with the hopes of recovering the county of Artois; and he insinuated to the ministers of Arthur, the son of his brother Geoffrey, and who inherited the county

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of Brittany, the probability of his being appointed his ſucceſſor in the throne of England: While Philip, on the other hand, ſeemed to have changed diſpoſitions with his rival, and acted with the inconſiderate levity of an inexperienced youth.

Arras was beſieged by the count of Flanders; and the French king, with a numerous army, advanced to the relief of it. Baldwin, incapable of oppoſing with any probability of ſucceſs the ſuperior forces of France, retreated before them; and Philip purſued him with improvident ardour through a country interſected with deep ditches and incloſures. But his numbers ſerved only to augment his confuſion and diſtreſs; unable either to advance or retire, he himſelf was aſſailed by the ſlow but certain attacks of famine; and at length was extricated from the danger which ſurrounded him by the moderation of the count, and his own ſpecious promiſes. Baldwin improved the opportunity to mediate between the contending monarchs, and a truce of a twelvemonth was granted to his interceſſion. On the expiration of that term the operations of war were re-commenced with increaſe of vigour; and only ſuſpended at the holy voice of pope Innocent the Third. To his remonſtrances, five years of reluctant tranquillity were granted; and before this ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities could ripen into

a ſolid peace, Richard himſelf received a mortal wound as he preſſed the ſiege of Chalus, to extort from his vaſſal Aymar, viſcount of Limoges, a treaſure which that nobleman had found.

A. D. 1193, 1200. The death of Richard relieved Philip from a formidable competitor; but his own imprudence allowed him not to enjoy this ſhort reſpite from foreign commotion, and he was already embarraſſed by cares of a more domeſtic nature. The night that delivered Ingerberge to his arms had extinguiſhed the flame of his affection; the virtues of the princeſs were not capable of affecting the dark mind of her huſband; and at his command ſhe retired to a monaſtery with the eſteem of a people who revered her modeſty, her piety, and her patience. Subſervient prelates, obedient to the powerful voice of their ſovereign, were readily found to gratify his wiſhes by a ſentence of divorce, under pretence of conſanguinity; and the king, three years after his marriage with Ingerberge, had eſpouſed Agnes, the daughter of the duke of Dalmatia. But the reſentment of the Dane was arouſed by the indignity offered to his ſiſter; he appealed to the ſacred and omnipotent tribunal of Rome; and after a variety of ſentences, Philip was at length conſtrained to reſign the poſſeſſion of Agnes, and

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to re-call Ingerberge from the convent to the throne. The mind of Agnes was too ſenſible of diſgrace to ſurvive the opprobrious deciſion; ſhe ſunk beneath the weight of her grief; and the court of Rome, which had exiled her from the bed of her huſband, legitimated her ſon and daughter, the fruits of their connection.

John, on the death of Richard, had occupied the vacant throne of his brother; but A. D. 1200. the crown of England was claimed by Arthur, the grandſon of Henry the Second, by his third ſon Geoffrey, already in poſſeſſion of Britanny. His inexperienced years were guided by the manly counſels of his mother Conſtance, a princeſs haughty and implacable, bold and turbulent. Anjou, Touraine, and Maine acknowledged the juriſdiction of Arthur; and the important town of Angers was delivered by the governor into his hands. In ſupport of his title, Philip entered Normandy, and ravaged with impartial rapacity the country that he claimed for his youthful ally; while John, with a conſiderable army, inveſted the capital of Maine; and after reducing it, razed the walls of the city as an inſtance of terror to the other towns that might be inclined to follow the example of Mans, and to erect the ſtandard of rebellion. But doubtful of the ſtrength of his ſword he preferred the arts of

negociation. To Lewis, the eldeſt ſon of the king of France, he offered his niece Blanch, the daughter of Alonzo, king of Caſtile, and promiſed to entail on that princeſs, in caſe he died without iſſue, all his dominions in France: To Philip he immediately ceded the Vexin, in Normandy; and the French monarch, happy in terms which exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations, acceded to the propoſal, and abandoned the ſupport of Arthur, who was compelled to renew his homage to John for the county of Brittany.

A. D. 1200, 1202. The manners of a licentious age had already looſened the ſacred bands of matrimony; and a voluptuous prince like John, heſitated not to divorce his preſent conſort from his bed, and to raiſe to it Iſabel D'Angouleme, whoſe charms had inflamed his paſſions, and whoſe hand was engaged to Hugh, count of March. But the ſubjects of John already conſpired againſt a capricious and oppreſſive reign; the count of March reſented the indignity that had been offered him; and Philip once more prepared to ſupport the convenient title of Arthur. That prince, with the treaſures of France, raiſed a conſiderable army, and inveſted the queen dowager Eleanor in Mirabeau, a city of Poitou. John, emerging from his natural indolence, haſtened to the relief of his mother: Arthur was ſurpriſed, and after a gallant reſiſtance,

ſiſtance, was taken priſoner by his uncle; the caſtle of Falaiſe was allotted at firſt for his reſidence; he was thence removed to Rouen; and the ſuſpicious manner of his death, which plainly evinced the royal hand that haſtened it, inſtead of eſtabliſhing, ſhook the throne of John to its very foundations.

The policy of Philip induced him to avenge the death of the youth whom he had abandoned when alive; John, as his vaſſal, was ſummoned to anſwer the charge of murder before the court of peers at Paris. On his refuſal, all the lands which he held as feifs of the crown of France were declared forfeited. Theſe forms might ſanction the proceedings of Philip; but different meaſures were requiſite to diſpoſſeſs the powerful maſter of Normandy; and in a field of battle, not in a court of juſtice, the differences of monarchs are to be decided. The ſtandard of France was again beheld in Normandy; and an indignant people, who ſcorned the tyrant and the aſſaſſin, impatiently crowded to join it. The gates of Alençon, Conches, Andeli, and Vaudreuil, were opened at his approach; the forts along the banks of the Loire diſplayed the colours of Philip; and Chateau Gaillard, a caſtle erected by Richard on the banks of the Seine, and ſuppoſed to be impregnable, after a ſiege of ſix months, was taken by the king of France. A. D. 1202, 1204.

The inactivity of the king of England aſtoniſhed his enemies, and extinguiſhed the hopes of his friends: He had indeed aſſembled a powerful armament for the relief of Chateau Gaillard; but his fleet was delayed by adverſe winds, and his ſoldiers betrayed themſelves to ruin by their own rapacity. Satisfied with this effort, he relapſed into his former indifference; while Philip inveſted Rouen, which capitulated; re-united Normandy to the kingdom of France; and with the exception of Chinon, which held out till the enſuing ſummer, completed the conqueſt of Anjou, Maine and Touraine.

A. D. 1205, 1206. Guy of Tours, who by his marriage with Conſtance, the mother of prince Arthur, had obtained the duchy of Brittany, beheld with a jealous eye the encreaſing power of the king of France, which threatened to overwhelm the vaſſals of the crown. His reſentment againſt the aſſaſſin of Arthur was ſacrificed to his intereſt; he renounced the party of Philip, and endeavoured to rouze the inſenſible John from the lap of indolence. For a moment, the king of England ſeemed awakened from his trance; he landed at Rochelle with a formidable force, ſucceſsfully aſſaulted the town of Angers, and might have once more reſtored his waining fortune. But the flattering proſpect was again

gain blaſted by his levity: Impatient of the toils of war, he concluded a truce for two years; and the duke of Brittany, abandoned to the mercy of Philip, was compelled to ſubſcribe the humiliating conditions impoſed by that haughty monarch.

The arms of France had been engaged in extending the dominions and augmenting the authority of her ſovereign; they were now diverted to gratify the holy ambition of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter, and to check the progreſs of hereſy. Raymond, count of Toulouſe, tolerated in his principality the unbounded freedom of religious opinion; and the court of Rome launched her thunders againſt a ſect who rejected her tenets, and whom, from their inhabiting near Albi, had obtained the name of Albigeois. The banner of the croſs, which had been unfurled againſt the infidels of Aſia, was, at the command of Innocent the Third, diſplayed for the deſtruction of the diſſenters of Europe; the pious commiſſion, though publickly declined, was privately connived at by Philip; and the county of Toulouſe was ſucceſſively abandoned to the ſacred ſword of Eudes, duke of Burgundy, and the devout barbarity of Simon de Montfort. A. D. 1206, 1209.

The ſame weapon which the Roman pontiff had ſo advantageouſly employed a gainſt A. D. 1209, 1214.

againſt the Albigeois, he was determined to try the temper of againſt England. John had refuſed to admit cardinal Langton as legate from the holy ſee; and the reſentment of Innocent excommunicated the king, and delivered his dominions to the firſt invader. Philip readily declared himſelf the champion of the papal authority; his ſon Lewis had privately aſſumed the croſs againſt the Albigeois; and his father was willing to divert his zeal to an enterpriſe which promiſed a more fruitful harveſt. But the preparations of Philip were ſcarce complete before the wrath of the pope was extinguiſhed by the abject ſubmiſſion of John: That prince, in the proſtrate poſture of humility, condeſcended to deliver his crown into, and to receive it again from, the hands of the pope's legate. This act of vaſſalage was rewarded by the ſucceſſor of St. Peter with abſolution; but the people beheld with indignation the degrading ceremony, and the hatred for their ſovereign was loſt in contempt.

A.D. 1213. Although Philip had readily aſſumed his arms at the voice of the Roman pontiff, he was not inclined to abandon, at the ſame command, an enterpriſe which his intereſt recommended. He might have deſpiſed the cenſures of the court of Rome, but he was embarraſſed by the intrigues and preparations of the king of England:

England: That prince, awakened from the trance of indolence by his immediate danger, covered the ſea with his fleets, and filled every court with negociations hoſtile to France. The counts of Flanders, Bologne, and Toulouſe, confederated with Otho, emperor of Germany; and confident of ſucceſs, already divided in imagination the dominions of Philip. That monarch firſt turned his arms againſt the count of Flanders, inveſted Ghent, and blocked up, with his naval forces, the port of Dantzic; but he was ſoon compelled to raiſe the ſiege with loſs; three hundred of his ſhips were deſtroyed by the fleets of John; and the king of England having extended his devaſtations as far as the frontiers of Brittany, retired to Parthenais, in Poitou, to await the operation of his allies in Flanders.

Philip, ſenſible that it was more honourable, and not more dangerous, boldly to encounter his enemies in the field than tamely to expect their attack, marched to meet the forces of the confederates. The hoſtile armies approached each other near Tournay; and the village of Bouvines has given its name to a battle memorable for the rank, the valour, and the numbers of the combatants. Under the ſtandard of Philip marched fifty thouſand men, led by the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Dreux, Nevers, Sancerre, Ponthieu,

Ponthieu, and St. Paul. The various hoſt which followed Otho was ſwelled to a larger amount, and was animated by the preſence of the dukes of Limburgh, Brabant, and Lorrain, the counts of Namur, Flanders, and Bologne, with the earl of Saliſbury. The conflict was fierce, bloody, and for a long time doubtful; the fortune of France and Germany alternately prevailed; Philip himſelf, wounded in the throat and dragged from his horſe, was in danger of being trampled to death; Otho was ſurrounded and captured by his enemies, and reſcued with difficulty. But the valour of the French triumphed over every obſtacle; the ſun, which ſhone on their backs, dazzled the eyes of their adverſaries; preſſed on all ſides, the confederates endeavoured in vain to retire; a gradual retreat was ſoon converted into a haſty and tumultuous flight; and the counts of Flanders and Bologne deplored in chains their raſhneſs or their guilt. Yet the victory of Bouvines ſerved more eminently to diſplay the policy of Philip: He was ſenſible the late formidable conſpiracy was formed rather by a jealouſy of his own power than a regard for John; he was willing to diſarm the ſuſpicions of his ſubjects; and weary of commanding an army where the troops of the crown bore but a ſmall proportion to thoſe of his vaſſals; he conſented to a truce for five years, and determined

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aſſiduouſly to employ that interval in amaſſing treaſures that might enable him to ſupport an independent and regular body of forces.

On the defeat of his allies, John had repaſſed the ſeas to England; and the tranquillity which he might have derived from the late truce was overwhelmed by a torrent of civil commotions. The Engliſh barons had erected the ſtandard of oppoſition; and their rights were vindicated from the oppreſſion of the tyrant by the celebrated charter, the bulwark of Engliſh liberty, which ſince has been known by the name of MAGNA CHARTA. It was ſcarcely ſubſcribed before it was violated by the faithleſs monarch; the pope, to whom his ſubmiſſive conduct had endeared him, abſolved him from his oath; and the barons deceived, ſurpriſed, and incapable alone of encountering the royal forces, invited to their aſſiſtance, and ſtimulated by the offer of the crown of England, Lewis, the eldeſt ſon of the king of France. That prince endeavoured to conceal the claim of conqueſt under the ſhadow of a title from his conſort Blanch, the grand-daughter of Henry the Second; and his preparations were powerfully but privately forwarded by his father Philip, who ſtill affected inviolably to maintain the truce he had concluded. While he furniſhed the young prince with a formidable armament, A. D. 1215, 1217.

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he prohibited him from interfering in the diſſentions of England; and Lewis, defying the vain thunders of the vatican, ſailed from Calais, landed at Sandwich, and was received with open arms by the diſcontented nobles. His ſucceſs was rapid, brilliant, and tranſient; Rocheſter ſubmitted, London hailed him as her deliverer and her ſovereign, and for a moment his reign and authority ſeemed permanently eſtabliſhed: But his gleam of proſperity was ſoon over-clouded; he was compelled ſucceſſively to relinquiſh the ſieges of Windſor and Dover Caſtles with diſgrace. The ſudden death of John re-united the barons in their allegiance to his infant ſon Henry; and Lewis reluctantly evacuated a capital which he had occupied too haſtily. His diſtreſs induced him to conſent to a truce; at the expiration of it he renewed his fruitleſs efforts; but the fleet he had aſſembled was intercepted by the Engliſh. His forces were defeated in a battle near Lincoln; and the prudent meaſures which were purſued by the earl of Pembroke, the regent of England, were attended by a peace, the articles of which ſtipulated the reſtoration to Henry of the Engliſh caſtles ſtill occupied by Lewis, and his influence to procure the reſtitution of Normandy, from his father Philip; or in caſe of his failing in that endeavour, his ſolemn promiſe to deliver it to

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the Engliſh monarch whenever he ſhould ſucceed to the throne of France.

The ſentence of excommunication which had been denounced by the pope againſt prince Lewis on his invading England, was repealed by his legate; and Philip, after ſome deſultory attempts againſt that kingdom, conſented to another truce for four years. The troubles in Toulouſe were again revived by the fury of perſecution; the patience of the people was exhauſted by the inhumanity of Simon de Montfort, and their deſpair at length proved fatal to Simon himſelf. At the earneſt intreaty of the Roman pontiff, Honorius the Third, Lewis was permitted by his father to unfurl the banner of the croſs, and to march againſt the Albigeois. His efforts were baffled, and his progreſs checked, by a race of enthuſiaſts deſtitute of hope and incapable of fear; and he was recalled from an unprofitable field, which afforded not a ſingle leaf of laurel, by the prudence of a parent anxious for the tottering reputation of his ſon. A. D. 1219, 1222.

That parent, at length, approached the end of his long and ſplendid career. A. D. 1223.

Amauri de Montfort, inflamed with religious zeal and hereditary enmity againſt the ſectaries of the church, who were ſtained with the blood of his father, and to engage Lewis with more ardour in the

the holy warfare, propoſed to reſign to the crown of France his rights to the duchy of Narbonne, the county of Toulouſe, and all thoſe lands which pope Innocent the Third had ſo liberally beſtowed upon Simon de Montfort in the council of Lateran: This important offer was referred to an aſſembly of the nobles and clergy, at Paris; and as Philip, with the intention of being preſent himſelf, purſued his journey from his new acquiſitions in Normandy to his capital, he was arreſted by death at the town of Mante, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and in the fifty-ninth of his age. As a general, his reputation at leaſt equalled that of his contemporaries; and the ingenuity with which he invented a variety of warlike engines, for the deſtruction of the human race, may be either applauded or regretted. But the character of the hero was ſurpaſſed by that of the ſtateſman; his policy extended the narrow limits of kingly power; and his ſucceſſors on the throne of France are indebted to Philip for the grandeur they have attained.

Chapter the Ninth.

REIGN AND DEATH OF LEWIS THE EIGHTH; — IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON, LEWIS THE NINTH.—REGENCY OF QUEEN BLANCH. — LEWIS ASSUMES THE CROSS, AND EMBARKS FOR EGYPT.—REDUCES DAMIETTA;—IS DEFEATED, AND TAKEN PRISONER BY THE INFIDELS; — RANSOMED, AND RETURNS TO FRANCE. — CONQUEST OF SICILY BY THE COUNT OF ANJOU.—LEWIS ENGAGES A SECOND TIME IN A HOLY WAR; —LANDS, AND EXPIRES ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.

LEWIS the Eighth was ſcarcely ſeated on the throne of France, before Henry the Third, of England, demanded by a ſolemn embaſſy the reſtoration of the dominions which his father had poſſeſſed in France, and which Lewis had bound himſelf by oath to ſurrender. But the hour of danger was paſſed; and the French monarch was not deſtitute of plauſible pretences to conceal his want of faith. In the language of recrimi- A. D. 1223, 1224.

recrimination, he urged that the Engliſh barons had not been confirmed in thoſe privileges which the treaty ſtipulated, and that a heavy ranſom had been unjuſtly extorted from the French priſoners. Senſible that the diſpute muſt be decided by arms, he extended his negociations with foreign powers; and fortified by the alliances of Frederick, emperor of Germany, and Hugh, count of March, who had married the queen dowager of England, he immediately invaded Poitou. Niort and Rochelle were gradually and ſucceſſively reduced; and Bourdeaux, with the country beyond the river Garonne, were all that remained of the extenſive territories formerly poſſeſſed by England. To preſerve theſe, Henry conferred on his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, the title of count of Poitou, and furniſhed him with a formidable ſquadron, and a conſiderable body of forces, to ſupport his new dignity. The inhabitants of Poitou, flattered by the preſence of a prince of the blood royal, crowded to his ſtandard: The ſpirit of oppoſition was revived; the career of Lewis was checked; and that monarch, impatient to engage in a new enterpriſe, conſented to a truce for three years.

A. D. 1224, 1226. The court of Rome ſtrongly ſolicited the king of France to reſume the croſs, and again to march againſt the Albigeois.

geois. The memory of his former inglorious campaign might deter him for a moment, but the vehemence of the pope triumphed over all oppoſition: On this occaſion Lewis thought fit to accept the offer of Amauri de Montfort; and in return for the ceſſion of the claims which he derived from the liberality of the Roman pontiff, Montfort received the promiſe of the poſt of Conſtable, as ſoon as it ſhould become vacant. The thunders of the Vatican had already been launched againſt the count of Toulouſe and his adherents, and the king of France prepared to ſupport theſe ſpiritual cenſures with a powerful army: From Lyons he directed his march along the banks of the Rhone, and inveſted Avignon with fifty thouſand men. The inhabitants, animated by deſpair, defended themſelves with obſtinate valour; and the king, after the loſs of the braveſt of his troops, was forced to grant that capitulation at laſt, which he had refuſed at firſt. With a harraſſed and diſpirited army, he turned from the hoſtile walls of Toulouſe; and in his retreat was ſeized at Montpenſier with a mortal diſtemper, which terminated a reign of three, and a life of thirty-nine years.

Lewis the Ninth, who attained the pious ſurname of Saint, was ſcarce eight years old when his father expired; and A. D. 1226.

his tender age was entruſted to the care of his mother, Blanch, the daughter of Alonzo, king of Caſtile: That princeſs aſſumed the reins of government, and held them with more than female firmneſs. Inſtead of vainly lamenting over the tomb of her late conſort, ſhe employed the immediate moments to ſecure the crown and regal authority of her ſon. The youthful king was crowned at Rheims by the biſhop of Soiſſons; and ſenſible of the intrigues of the nobles, who had long regretted the diminution of their former independence, and who beheld with pleaſure the favourable opportunity which now preſented itſelf, ſhe prepared to encounter their arts with equal arms.

The moſt powerful of the confederates, whoſe ſecret counſels and open preparations threatened the tranquillity of the kingdom, and ſhook the very foundations of the throne, were, Philip, ſurnamed *Hurſpel*, *rude*, the ſon of Philip-Auguſtus, by Agnes the daughter of the duke of Dalmatia, and who, from the affection of his father, derived the title of count of Clermont, and from his marriage that of count of Bologne: Joanna, counteſs of Flanders, who from the impriſonment of her huſband Ferdinand after the battle of Bouvines, governed that province with independent authority, and purſued with implacable hatred

the queen-dowager: Peter de Dreux, the grandſon of Robert, the fourth ſon of Lewis the Groſs, and who, as the huſband of Conſtance, ruled with the title of count the fertile country of Brittany: Thibaud, count of Champagne, who preſumed to profeſs himſelf the perſonal admirer of Blanch, and whoſe vanity and jealouſy armed him againſt her adminiſtration: Raymond, count of Toulouſe, whoſe dominions had lately been devoted to religious perſecution, and who ſought for peace amidſt the calamities of war; and Berenger, count of Provence, whoſe honourable revolt was actuated by the ſincere and ſteady friendſhip which he had ever profeſſed and maintained to the count of Toulouſe. The private motives of the confederates were veiled by the pretence of public good; and their demands were recommended by their apparent moderation. They required, before they yielded their homage to the king, that the queen ſhould ſecure to them the inviolable maintenance of thoſe laws to which, by birth, ſhe was a ſtranger; that ſhe ſhould reſtore the eſtates which had been confiſcated during the former reign; and that ſhe ſhould releaſe the priſoners of ſtate, particularly Ferdinand, count of Flanders.

Blanch, determined to preſerve the dignity of the crown entruſted to her A. D. 1227, 1229.

care pure and immaculate, rejected their demands; and while she diligently collected a small but well-disciplined body of forces, she condescended to employ every species of art, and to exert the influence of her charms. The count of Champagne was rather allured to her side, than awed by her power; the countess of Flanders was embarrassed by the release of her husband, which decency compelled her to require, but interest prompted her to dread; while Ferdinand displayed, with persevering fidelity, his gratitude to his royal deliverer. By a prudent distribution of favours, the minds of the conspirators were soothed and conciliated; the ceremony of homage was gradually acquiesced in; and the tempest which had threatened to subvert the infant authority of Lewis, was for a moment hushed and appeased.

A. D. 1229, 1233. But this calm proved deceitful; and while Blanch flattered herself with the prospect of returning tranquillity, the storm burst forth with redoubled violence. Philip, count of Bologne, who had secretly nursed the hopes of the conspirators, now openly erected the standard of rebellion, and even aspired to mount the throne of France. Disappointed in his attempt to seize the person of the king, he endeavoured to delude the queen with a small and inadequate force into

into the hoſtile county of Britanny; but the ſnare was diſcovered to Blanch by the affection of the count of Champagne; and when the confederates hoped to ſecure their important prize, their meaſures were again diſconcerted by the appearance of that nobleman, at the head of a ſuperior army. The queen ſeized the moment of ſucceſs to negociate with the count of Bologne; ſhe convinced him that his real intereſt was to maintain the authority of the king, his nephew; ſhe unfolded the ſecret deſigns of the confederates; and plainly proved, that while they flattered his ambition with the proſpect of royalty, their inclinations were unanimouſly directed towards Enguerand de Coucy, a nobleman conſpicuous above his contemporaries for his virtues and abilities. Philip conſented to exchange his viſionary hopes of a crown for the ſolid emoluments of a penſion. The intrigues of Blanch extended even to the court of London; and the miniſters of Henry were, by ſplendid preſents and artful gratifications, induced to ſubſcribe a truce for three years, while the count of Brittany was humbled by the arms of the queen, and reluctantly ſubmitted to the humiliating language of feigned penitence.

In the lapſe of theſe various commo- A. D.
tions, the king himſelf had attained the 1233, 1242.
age of nineteen years; and at the command of

his mother, he beſtowed his hand on Margaret, the daughter of the count of Provence: Yet Blanch ſtill maintained her former aſcendancy; and the count of Brittany, who had preſumed once more to provoke her reſentment, was reduced, proſtrate on the ground, and with a rope about his neck, to implore the pardon of Lewis. The vanity of Thibaud, count of Champagne, had engaged him in freſh intrigues; his reſiſtance was inglorious, his ſubmiſſion abject; and the nobles, baffled in their ſucceſſive enterpriſes, aſſumed the croſs, and in the wars of Paleſtine found employment for their turbulent and reſtleſs valour. On their return they reſumed their factious cabals; and the counts of March and Brittany renewed their negociations with Henry of England, a prince, weak, fickle, and indigent. His feeble aid ſerved only to augment the glory of Lewis, who in two ſeparate engagements triumphed over his revolted ſubjects. The count of Toulouſe was the laſt who defied his arms; even his ſpirit was at length ſubdued, and he was happy to obtain from the clemency of the king, terms which permitted him the peaceable enjoyment of his dominions, but at the ſame time precluded him from future oppoſition; while Lewis beheld himſelf peaceably eſtabliſhed on the throne, and inveſted with the ſame royal prerogative as

his

his father Philip had poſſeſſed in the plenitude of his power.

Two regulations proclaim the prudence and policy of Lewis. The firſt, under pretence of preventing ſtrangers from inheriting lands in France to the prejudice of the natives, precluded the nobles from marrying their daughters to foreigners, and reſtrained them from increaſing their influence by connections and alliances with the neighbouing powers. The ſecond compelled the vaſſals of the crowns of France and England, to determine to which ſovereign they would yield homage; and finally aboliſhed the dangerous cuſtom of adhering to either, as their caprice or intereſt ſuggeſted Yet even in this edict, the humanity of Lewis was conſpicuous, and his juſtice indemnified thoſe who adhered to him for the lands that they forfeited, by ſeceding from the king of England. A. D. 1242, 1246.

A dangerous indiſpoſition, which menaced the life of Lewis, was productive of a fatal vow to march in perſon againſt the infidels, whoſe ſucceſſive victories had overwhelmed the Chriſtians of the eaſt: Yet the blind zeal which induced him to deſcend from his throne to ſeek the adventures of a ſpiritual knight-errant, did not prevent him from concerting his meaſures with the utmoſt prudence and foreſight. A. D. 1247.

To ſecure the tranquillity of his kingdom during his abſence, he engaged the turbulent counts of March and Brittany to ſhare with him the merits of the holy warfare. In conformity with the general practice, he publiſhed that he was ready to redreſs every injury he had offered; and the king of England demanded by his brother, the earl of Cornwall, the duchy of Normandy, and the reſt of thoſe territories in France, of which he had been unjuſtly deſpoiled. To the biſhops of that duchy the application was referred; and the general character of Lewis allows us to ſuppoſe his refuſal the reſult of their deciſion: Yet Henry conſented to renew the truce between the two kingdoms; and the French monarch, after entruſting to his mother Blanch the reins of government, prepared for his departure.

A. D. 1248. To furniſh an armament equal to the arduous enterpriſe, France was exhauſted of troops and treaſures: The ſea was whitened with eighteen hundred ſails; and nine thouſand five hundred horſe, and one hundred and thirty thouſand foot, have been computed as the number of the martial pilgrims. Margaret ſhared the dangers of her royal conſort; and his two brothers, Robert, count of Artois, and Charles count of Anjou, and afterwards king of Naples, were the companions of his toils. The fleet with favourable

favourable winds reached the coaſt of Cyprus; the troops were diſembarked on the friendly ſhore; and during the ſeverity of winter, their ſtrength was recruited and their health reſtored by the plenty of that iſland.

On the approach of ſpring, it was determined to commence the operations of war; and it was hoped that Paleſtine might be ſubdued in Egypt, a country from which the Moſlems derived the moſt effectual ſupport. A. D. 1249. After a proſperous voyage, the fleet caſt anchor in the mouth of the Nile; and Lewis, in complete armour, the Oriflame waving before him, leaped foremoſt on the beach. The ſtrong city of Damietta, which for ſixteen months had formerly withſtood the aſſaults of the chriſtians, was abandoned by the trembling infidels on the firſt attack; but that town was the firſt and laſt of his conqueſts. A ruinous delay introduced into the camp the ſeeds of an epidemical diſeaſe; and the progreſs of the Franks, whoſe columns pointed towards Cairo, the capital of Egypt, was impeded by an unſeaſonable inundation of the Nile. Under the eye of their intrepid monarch, the barons and knights of France diſplayed their invincible contempt of danger and of diſcipline; the count of Artois, with about two thouſand of the flower of the army, paſſed the deep and rapid

rapid ſtream; and with inconſiderate valour ruſhed towards, and ſtormed the town of Maſſoura. But the momentary conſternation of the inhabitants was diſpelled by the intelligence that the main body of the French was ſtill ſeparated by the Nile from the raſh aſſailants. The flying Moſlems were rallied by a ſoldier who deſerved, and who afterwards uſurped the ſceptre; and before the chriſtians could arrive to the ſupport of their van-guard, the count of Artois and his fearleſs companions had effaced, by a glorious death, the fatal error of impetuous courage. The battle was with difficulty reſtored, and the Saracens were at length compelled to relinquiſh the field to the daring warriors of France, animated by the example of their gallant monarch.

But the unprofitable victory ſerved only to augment the diſtreſs of the Franks; and they too plainly diſcerned that the utmoſt efforts of military ſkill and valour were of no avail. By theſe efforts their fate might be procraſtinated, but it could not be averted. From the increaſing numbers of the infidels, they were compelled to ſhelthemſelves in a ſtrong camp; while the Nile was commanded by the Egyptian gallies, and the open country by the Arabs. All proviſions were intercepted; each day diſplayed the rapid progreſs of diſeaſe and famine; and a ſhower of Greek fire

fire was inceſſantly poured on their heads by the ſurrounding Saracens. The moment the invaders determined to retreat, they diſcovered that it was impracticable. The Oriental writers confeſs that Lewis might have eſcaped by ſea, if he would have deſerted his ſubjects; and policy would have juſtified the prudent, though inglorious flight. But his magnanimous mind preferred the thorny path of honour; with his brother, the count of Anjou, the greateſt part of his nobles, and the ſhattered remnant of his army, the king of France became the captive of the victorious followers of Mahomet.

A triumph ſo ſplendid, a victory ſo important, was ſullied by the cruelty of the conquerors; the captive monarch was himſelf loaded with chains; his ſubjects, who were unable to ranſom their lives, were inhumanly maſſacred, and their heads were expoſed to the deriſion of the inhabitants on the walls of Cairo. But the ſtrength of Damietta was the ſecurity of Lewis; to the fortifications of that city he had entruſted his royal conſort and his treaſures. The Saracens beheld with hopeleſs eyes the ſolid towers which mocked their feeble aſſaults; and the deliverance of Lewis, and that of his ſoldiers, was obtained by the reſtitution of Damietta and the payment of four hundred thouſand pieces of ſilver.

After

A. D. 1250. After fulfilling the conditions with ſcrupulous integrity, Lewis, with his queen Margaret and about ſix thouſand ſoldiers, the war-worn relics of his former hoſt, embarked on board the gallies of Genoa, for the port of Acre, in Paleſtine. It might have been reaſonably concluded, that after his late misfortune he would have relinquiſhed the vain hope of eaſtern laurels, and returned to the government of his own kingdom: But he was unwilling to reviſit his dominions without glory; and he confided in the vigilance and ability of his mother Blanch. The fortitude of that princeſs was overwhelmed by the diſaſtrous campaign in Egypt, and the captivity of her ſon; a weak adminiſtration and mournful exiſtence were prolonged for about two years, till ſhe ſunk into the grave, beneath the inceſſant preſſure of unavailing ſorrow.

A. D. 1254. The death of Blanch, and the remonſtrances of his ſubjects, recalled Lewis from Acre; within the walls of which city, unable to viſit Jeruſalem, he had ingloriouſly waſted four years. Though received with the acclamations of his people, his dreſs was plain, and his features melancholy; the former was ſtill impreſſed with the ſign of the croſs; the latter diſplayed the evident marks of his defeat: Yet the magnificence of the monarch was beheld with admiration

admiration in his reception of Henry the Third of England, who embraced the opportunity of an expedition into Gaſcony to viſit Paris. The ſplendour of his entertainment was enhanced by the courteous manners of Lewis; and the interview between the two kings was followed by a renewal of the former truce for two years longer; while the connections of the king of France were extended by the marriage of his daughter Iſabella with Thibaud the Second, king of Navarre, and count of Champagne and Brie.

The ſame juſtice with which Lewis governed his own dominions, ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre in every tranſaction with his neighbours. He conciliated the differences between the dowager counteſs of Provence, mother of his conſort, and his own brother, the count of Anjou. His deciſion, which deprived the latter of certain caſtles, the object of their diſpute, was rendered palatable to Charles by a liberal pecuniary compenſation from his own treaſury. To Henry the Third, as an equivalent for his vain pretenſions to Normandy, he ceded the Limouſin, Querci, and Perigord; and the terms which he granted to the Engliſh, when their government was diſtracted by the weakneſs of their king and the ambition of his miniſter, the daring and enterpriſing earl of Leiceſter, might, even in a more A. D. 1255, 1265.

proſperous

proſperous ſtate of their affairs, have been deemed reaſonable and advantageous. Between that miniſter and his ſovereign, the king of France was choſen to mediate; and a reference ſo honourable to his integrity, was juſtified by his moderate and lenient counſels. To this arbitration ſucceeded the concerns of his own family; and on the death of his eldeſt ſon, Lewis negociated the marriage of Philip, the next, with Iſabella, the princeſs of Arragon, who had been previouſly engaged to the deceaſed prince.

A. D. 1266. But the ſame equity which characterized Lewis, reſided not in the boſom of his brother Charles; eminent for ferocious manners and brutal courage, the court of Rome, with tranſport, acknowledged him the choſen champion of her eternal enmity to the imperial houſe of Swabia The crown of the two Sicilies had been uſurped by Mainfroy, the baſtard of Frederic the Second, to the prejudice of Conradin, the nephew of that emperor. Pope Clement the Fourth, equally inimical to both, as the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, beſtowed the important prize on the count of Anjou. The banner of the croſs was unfurled againſt the domeſtic enemy of the Vatican; and Charles, at the head of the chivalry of France, on the bloody plains of Beneventum, deſpoiled Mainfroy of his crown and life. The death

death of the uſurper awakened from obſcurity the pretenſions of Conradin; but the hapleſs youth ſunk in the unequal conflict, a priſoner to the unfeeling conqueror: His rights were extinguiſhed on a public ſcaffold; the forms of juſtice were proſtituted, to veil the cruelty of the victor, and to aggravate the anguiſh of the vanquiſhed; and the eſtabliſhment of Charles on the throne of the two Sicilies, gave riſe to what the French have ſtyled the firſt race of Anjou.

Sixteen years of peace had obliterated from the mind of Lewis the misfortunes of his former cruſade; the latent flame of enthuſiaſm, which had been damped by his defeat in Egypt, was not extinguiſhed, and the breath of opportunity was only wanting to fan and revive the dormant embers. The wiſdom of his regulations had reſtored the tranquillity of his dominions; his coffers were recruited, his finances augmented, and his hopes expanded. His ſilent preparations had been inceſſantly directed towards the ſingle object of his devout ambition; the loſs of Antioch provoked the more immediate execution of his deſigns: His example was followed by his three ſons, Philip, John, and Peter, by his nephew the count of Artois, and by the moſt gallant ſpirits of the court of France. The reins of government during his abſence were entruſted A. D. 1266, 1269.

to

to the vigilance of Matthew, abbot of St. Denys, who derived his noble lineage from the counts of Vendome; and to Simon de Clermont, count of Neſle, juſtly eſteemed for the united qualities of his head and heart.

Aigues-mortes, a ſmall ſea-port of Languedoc, near the mouth of the Rhone, was a ſecond time rendered remarkable by the embarkation of Lewis; and the fleet of France, inſtead of directing its courſe towards Paleſtine or Egypt, ſteered for the coaſt of Africa. An obſcure king of Tunis, (whoſe doubtful name of Muley-Mortanga or Omar atteſts his inſignificance) had profeſſed his inclination to abjure the tenets of Mahomet for thoſe of Chriſt; and the vain report of an immenſe treaſure reconciled the more intereſted pilgrims to the wild and viſionary enterpriſe. But caprice or policy had already united the fickle or crafty barbarian to the precepts of the Koran; and inſtead of a zealous proſelyte, Lewis encountered an active and formidable enemy. The walls of Cartharge were indeed ſtormed by the impetuous valour of the French; but their ſtrength was exhauſted before the gates of Tunis; and the warriors of the weſt panted beneath the ſultry heats, and expired on the burning ſands of Africa. The king himſelf was at length infected by the peſtilential blaſt, and he breathed his laſt on the inhoſpitable

inhoſpitable ſhore, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and the fifty-ſixth year of his age. In his ſingular character were united the virtues of the ſaint and the hero; and his piety and equity in peace were not more conſpicuous than his fortitude and valour in war. The father of his people, his heart ever ſympathized with their miſeries, and his hand was ever ſtretched out to relieve their diſtreſs. His prudent policy preſerved them from the calamities of foreign invaſion; but his excellent underſtanding was clouded by the fumes of enthuſiaſm; and the ſlaughter of his ſubjects, his own captivity, and at length his death, were the fatal conſequences of a blind ſuperſtition.

Chapter the Tenth.

REIGN OF PHILIP THE THIRD, SURNAMED THE *HARDY*. — REVOLT OF SICILY FROM CHARLES OF ANJOU. — DEATH OF PHILIP THE THIRD, AND SUCCESSION OF PHILIP THE FOURTH, SURNAMED THE FAIR. — WAR WITH EDWARD THE FIRST OF ENGLAND. — DIFFERENCE WITH POPE BONIFACE THE EIGHTH. — INVASION OF FLANDERS. — DEATH OF PHILIP THE FOURTH.

THE death of Lewis did not prevent his ſon and ſucceſſor Philip, who attained the ſurname of Hardy, from continuing the war againſt the infidels with vigour and ſucceſs. His ſhattered forces were ſtrengthened by the arrival of his uncle Charles, the king of Sicily, with a conſiderable fleet and army: The Saracens were defeated in two engagements; the king of Tunis was reduced to ſue for peace; and his offers of doubling the tribute he formerly paid to the crown of Sicily, of re-imburſing the expences of the war, and of permitting the Chriſtian

A. D. 1270.

Chriſtian religion to be freely propagated throughout his dominions, were accepted by the kings of France and Sicily, who embarked their troops, and hoiſted ſail from the infectious coaſt.

But the ſeeds of diſeaſe ſtill lurked in the bodies of the martial pilgrims, and on their arrival in Sicily, burſt forth with baneful influence. Philip, to alleviate the anxiety of his mind, from the court of Sicily viſited that of Rome; and purſuing his journey through the principal cities of Italy, repoſed a ſhort time at Lyons, and entered his capital amidſt the acclamations of his people. Yet France had reaſon to lament the deſtructive conſequences of the enterpriſes from which he returned; beſides the multitude that periſhed without a name, and perhaps without a ſigh, on the coaſt of Africa, in the iſland of Sicily, and in his progreſs through Italy, Philip beheld his father Lewis, his brother John, his queen Iſabella, and his brother-in-law and ſiſter, the king and queen of Navarre, his uncle and aunt, the count and counteſs of Poictiers, the noble victims of the ſame contagious diſorder. A. D. 1271.

The firſt moments of his return were dedicated to the pious care of his father's funeral, the next to the important ceremony of his own coronation. With active vigilance he inſpected every

part of his dominions; he took poſſeſſion in perſon, of the counties of Provence and Toulouſe; and ſteadily enforced within the royal domain, the regulation of St. Lewis, which prevented the barons from deciding their differences by private war. On the death of Henry, king of Navarre, he demanded for his ſecond ſon Lewis, the only daughter of that prince; and although the treaty of marriage was oppoſed by the kings of Caſtile and Arragon, as extending by ſo valuable an acquiſition, the power of France; and Philip himſelf, for fear of too much alarming the jealouſy of his neighbours, had relinquiſhed his firſt deſign of procuring the princeſs for his eldeſt ſon; yet ſupported by the influence of the pope, whoſe friendſhip he purchaſed by the ceſſion of the Venaiſſin, he triumphed over every obſtacle, and the nuptials of his ſon were followed by his own; he beſtowed his hand on Mary, the daughter of the duke of Brabant, eſteemed one of the moſt beautiful princeſſes of the age.

A. D. 1274. Although Philip was deſirous of cultivating peace, he was not intimidated by the ſound of war. To maintain the former he yielded the country of Agenois to Edward the Firſt, king of England; and he engaged in the latter to ſupport the pretenſions of his nephews, the infants de le Cerda, to the throne of Caſtile. Alphonſo, who ruled that kingdom, had

had transferred the ſucceſſion from the offſpring of his eldeſt ſon, the deceaſed huſband of Blanch, the ſiſter of Philip, to his ſecond and ſurviving ſon Sancho. Philip himſelf had endeavoured to eſtabliſh a right to the crown of Caſtile; but his own claim was loſt in the injuſtice offered to his ſiſter's ſon; and the party of the youthful prince was ſeconded by the arms of France. From the proſecution of a war, languid and unintereſting, the attention of Philip was recalled to his own domeſtic calamities, and the more immediate danger of the Houſe of Anjou.

At the age of twelve years, Lewis, the eldeſt ſon of the king, ſuddenly expired; and the ſuſpicion of poiſon was attached to the uncommon manner of his death. Peter la Broſſe, a minion of fortune, who from the poſt of ſurgeon to the king had attained that of miniſter, and governed with abſolute power the mind of his maſter, was jealous of the encreaſing influence of a young and beautiful queen. He artfully inſinuated the enmity of Mary to her ſon-in-law; and the monarch, for a moment, regarded with a doubtful eye the innocence of his conſort. The ſuperſtition of the age induced Philip to conſult a nun, who profeſſed or believed herſelf inſpired; the anſwer was fatal to La Broſſe. His enemies ſeized the favourable opportunity to accuſe him A. D. 1275.

of a treaſonable correſpondence with the king of Caſtile, and he was condemned to atone for his crimes by a violent death. But the ſecret manner of his trial, the inſulting preſence of the queen's brother, the duke of Brabant, at his execution, turned the tide of popular favour; and the king could not ſeclude himſelf from the loud and general clamour, which arraigned the ſentence of La Broſſe, and impeached the innocence of Mary.

A. D. 1280, 1284. Charles of Anjou had eſtabliſhed his authority over Naples and Sicily; and his throne could only be ſhaken by his own ambition and cruelty: The former awakened the fears of Michael Palæologus, the emperor of the Greeks; the latter excited the indignation and revolt of his Italian ſubjects. Naples, indeed, was awed by the preſence of a ſovereign whom ſhe feared and hated; but Sicily was rouſed to freedom by the eloquence of John, of Procida, an exile of noble birth, daring courage, and conſummate art. The councils of the conſpirators were nurſed by the gold of Palæologus; and the ſame moment informed Charles, that in a promiſcuous maſſacre, which obtained the name of the SICILIAN VESPERS, eight thouſand of the French had periſhed, and that Peter, king of Arragon, had ſailed to Palermo, and was ſaluted as the king and ſaviour of the iſland. Charles was aſtoniſhed

niſhed and confounded at the rebellion of a people, whom he had long trampled on with impunity; and in the agony of grief, was heard to exclaim, "O God! if thou haſt decreed to hum-"ble me, grant me at leaſt a gentle and gra-"dual deſcent from the pinnacle of greatneſs." But whatever might be his confidence in the aid of heaven, his earthly meaſures were taken with vigour and promptitude: A powerful armament was aſſembled at Marſeilles; the ſiege of Meſſina was preſſed with inceſſant ardour; the inhabitants in vain deplored their raſhneſs, and offered, on an aſſurance of pardon, to open their gates to their offended ſovereign. With the return of proſperity, Charles had reſumed his former inflexibility; but while he ſailed to Marſeilles, to haſten with the ſuccours of France the deſtruction of his enemies, his hopes of vengeance were blaſted by one fatal and irreparable action. His ſon Charles, ſurnamed the Lame, was left in Sicily with orders patiently to await the arrival of his father: But the youth, provoked by the inſults of the fleet of Arragon, hazarded an engagement, which delivered him a priſoner into the hands of his foes. Charles in vain endeavoured to diſguiſe, by an appearance of fortitude, the effects of this mortal blow; his feelings as a king and a father were too deeply wounded; from

deſpair and ſorrow, he ſunk into the grave; and the iſland of Sicily, after a war of twenty years, was finally ſevered from the throne of Naples, and transferred, as an independent kingdom, to a younger branch of the Houſe of Arragon.

A. D. 1283, 1285. Pope Martin the Fourth, zealous in the cauſe of Charles, the former champion of the court of Rome, and aſſerting the unbounded right of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter, had excommunicated Pedro, king of Arragon, and beſtowed his ſceptre, with the approbation of Philip, on Charles of Valois, a younger ſon of the king of France. That monarch, to maintain the authority of his uncle and to eſtabliſh the pretenſions of his ſon, had penetrated into Catalonia, and laid ſiege to Gironne. In endeavouring to intercept a convoy of the beſiegers, Pedro himſelf was mortally wounded; and Gironne, hopeleſs of ſuccour and diſmayed by the fate of her ſovereign, ſurrendered. Yet the proſperity of Philip was ſoon over-caſt; his fleet was again defeated by that of Arragon, and the ſame element overwhelmed the hopes of the uncle and the nephew. Shame and diſappointment preyed upon the mind of Philip; the progreſs of diſeaſe was forwarded by the cares of royalty; the ſplendid and ſpecious projects which had ſo fatally deluded him, vaniſhed from his ſight, and he beheld in the

the viſionary enterpriſe, his treaſures waſted, his ſubjects ſlaughtered, and his dominions exhauſted. The fatigues of war, the ſultry heat of the climate, were not ſo injurious as his own reflections: Haraſſed by the purſuit of his enemies, and unable to bear the motion of a horſe, he arrived in a litter at Perpignan, where he expired, in the forty-firſt year of his age, and the ſixteenth year of his reign, regretted by an army which he had unſucceſsfully commanded, and lamented by a people whom he had reluctantly impoveriſhed.

Philip the Fourth, whoſe perſonal attractions acquired him the name of *Fair*, when he aſcended the throne of his father was about ſeventeen years of age; and found himſelf with an empty treaſury and ſhattered army, engaged in a war with his neighbours of Caſtile and Arragon. He was crowned at Rheims, with his conſort Joanna, who in her own right was alſo queen of Navarre, and who with her hand had beſtowed on her huſband the important counties of Champagne and Brie: Yet this increaſe of influence and territory was ſcarce ſufficient to extricate him from the continual embarraſſments of his reign. By abandoning the intereſts of the infants de le Cerda, he adjuſted the diſpute with Caſtile; and the terms of peace between the crowns of Arragon and France were ſettled by A. D. 1285, 1291.

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the mediation of Edward the Firſt of England. At the interceſſion of the Engliſh monarch, Charles the Lame was releaſed from his captivity; part of his ranſom was paid by the generoſity of Edward himſelf; and Charles conſented to renounce his claim to Sicily, and to prevail on his nameſake of Valois to withdraw his pretenſions to Arragon; pretenſions which were only founded on the frantic liberality of an enraged pope, and which the brother of the king of France readily exchanged for the eldeſt daughter of Charles the Lame, and the princely dowry of the extenſive counties of Anjou and Maine.

The general tranquillity which theſe treaties had promoted, was ſoon interrupted by a ſucceſſion of wars and political differences with Edward the Firſt, king of England; with pope Boniface the Eighth; and with Guy de Dampier, count of Flanders. And that the reader may more clearly comprehend the origin and event of each tranſaction, it will be neceſſary to review them diſtinct and ſeparate.

A. D. 1293, 1303. Philip, in conſequence of a treaty between Lewis the Ninth and Henry the Third, had ceded to Edward the county of Saintonge; the friendly inclinations of the Engliſh monarch had been diſplayed in his mediation between Arragon and France; and on a viſit to

to Paris, he had yielded homage to Philip for the dominions he held under that crown. This promiſe of permanent amity was blaſted by an incident, trifling in itſelf but conſiderable in its conſequences; and which ſerves to diſplay the general appetite for revenge which actuated in that age every deſcription of men, and urged them, on any provocation, to ſeek redreſs by immediate retaliation on the aggreſſors. A Norman and an Engliſh veſſel met off the coaſt of Bayonne, and both having occaſion to water, the crews they detached, met at the ſame ſpring. A quarrel enſued for the preference; and a Norman drawing his dagger, attempted to ſtab an Engliſhman, but fell, as it was pretended, by his own weapon. In the diſpute between theſe ſeamen, the two nations were ſoon involved. The Norman mariners carried their complaints to the throne of Philip; and the French monarch, without deſcending to enquiry, authoriſed them to vindicate their own injuries. This expreſſion was the ſignal of mutual violence; and the ſea became a ſcene of piracy and barbarity between the two nations. The ſovereigns, without either ſeconding or repreſſing the violence of their ſubjects, ſeemed a long time to remain indifferent ſpectators. With the Engliſh, ſided the Iriſh and Dutch ſeamen; and with the French, thoſe of Flanders and Genoa. A bloody and obſtinate

ſtinate war was kindled at ſea, and ſo numerous were the fleets fitted out to avenge this act of private hoſtility, that in one engagement fifteen thouſand of the French are reported to have periſhed.

The loſs of his people awakened the public attention of Philip; and the inclination of Edward to avoid extremities was conſtrued by the former monarch into puſillanimity. The king of England was ſummoned to attend as the vaſſal of France; and on his refuſal to obey, his eſtates in that kingdom were declared forfeited. After a variety of negociations, it was inſinuated that Philip conceived his honour intereſted by the outrages of the inhabitants of Guienne; that the nominal ceſſion of that province would alone efface the inſult; but he engaged, as ſoon as it was delivered into his hands, to reſtore it to the king of England. Edward, embarraſſed with the Scotch, and anxious for peace, fell into the ſnare; and the king of France no ſooner found himſelf poſſeſſed of Guienne, than he threw off the maſk, and perſevered in the ſentence he had procured againſt his rival. The forms of a court of juſtice might ſanction the proceedings of Philip in the eyes of the undiſcerning multitude, but it was only by arms the differences of monarchs could be decided. Edward, enraged at finding himſelf thus

thus egregiouſly duped, endeavoured, by extending his alliances, to deprive Philip of the fruits of his perfidy. He concluded a treaty with the emperor Adolphus, and he allured to his ſide the counts of Brittany, Holland, Bar, Juliers, Guelders, and Flanders. Yet even this powerful confederacy ſerved rather to diſtreſs his finances, than advance his progreſs in Guienne: Adolphus, while he loudly demanded conſiderable ſubſidies, tardily furniſhed the aſſiſtance he had ſtipulated. Philip had cloſely connected himſelf with Scotland, and laid the foundation, by his treaty with John Bailiol, of that union which was preſerved between the two nations for ſucceſſive centuries. The town of Dover was deſtroyed by a predatory deſcent of the French; and Edward, to avenge the inſult, landed in Gaſcony with an army of fifty thouſand Engliſh. The forces of the competitors nearly balanced, inclined both to peace; a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was agreed on for two years, and the war was finally concluded by the mediation of pope Boniface the Eighth. Guienne was reſtored to Edward, who eſpouſed Margaret, the ſiſter of Philip; and Iſabella, the daughter of that monarch, beſtowed her hand on the prince of Wales. Each king, with mutual perfidy, abandoned their allies; and while John, king of Scotland, was expoſed to the reſentment of Edward,

ward, Guy, earl of Flanders, was relinquiſhed to the indignation of Philip.

A. D. 1298, 1310. When the rival monarchs had appointed Boniface the judge of their differences, ſenſible of the encroaching temper of the Roman pontiff, they inſerted in the reference that he was ſelected as a private man, and not as the ſucceſſor to the chair of St. Peter. That pontiff had early diſplayed a degree of pride which alarmed his contemporaries, and the king of France was firſt doomed to experience the effects of his ſpiritual ambition. He preſumed to forbid the clergy to grant any ſubſidies to that prince, without firſt obtaining leave from the holy ſee, under pain of excommunication. In return, Philip prohibited any eccleſiaſtics, without his licenſe, from ſending money out of the realm; and while the Roman pontiff aſſailed him with ſpiritual arms, he openly protected the Colonnas, the implacable enemies of Boniface. The haughty prelate, after deſcending to the loweſt abuſe, and ſtigmatizing Philip in his letter with the opprobrious name of Fool, ſummoned to a council at Rome, the clergy of France; while Philip retaliated, by ſeizing the temporalities of thoſe who attended, and recalling his brother Charles of Valois, who acted as, and enjoyed the title of, the pope's general. Senſible however of the miſ-

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taken zeal of a ſuperſtitious age, before the minds of his people could be impreſſed with the ſacred dread of a conteſt with the holy father, he determined to prevent the danger by the boldneſs of his own meaſures. Two of his emiſſaries, diſpatched under the pretence of conciliating theſe differences by the efficacious application of gold, employed the money in privately levying a ſufficient force, and ſuddenly inveſted Boniface in Anegnia, the town of his birth and reſidence. Corrupted by the liberality of the beſiegers, the inhabitants opened their gates, and joined in ſeizing the perſon of the pope, at the moment the Bull was actually prepared to excommunicate the king, and releaſe his people from their allegiance. Yet the tide of popular favour ſoon turned, and the fickle citizens who had betrayed Boniface, pitied his diſtreſs, reſcued him from his guards, and eſcorted him to Rome, where he ſoon expired, the victim of ſhame and diſappointed rage.

Benedict the Eleventh ſucceeded Boniface in the apoſtolic chair; and deſirous of recovering Philip to the duty he owed to his ſpiritual father by lenient means, he revoked the excommunication which his predeceſſor had fulminated againſt him. Yet this moderation was but ill calculated to pleaſe an haughty and implacable faction, deſirous of aggrandizing the power of the church; and

and the ſudden and premature death of Benedict has been imputed to poiſon. The choice of the Conclave for ſeveral months was ſuſpended by the intrigues of the candidates, and the cardinals of Italy and France. The former, at length, conſented to name three, out of whom the latter might ſelect the future pope: Of theſe, Bertrand, archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, was one; and Philip offered to procure him the vacant ſee, provided he would engage to condemn the memory of Boniface, reſtore the honours and eſtates of the Colonnas, allow him for five years the tenths of the clergy of France, and agree to comply with a requeſt which at that time it was not prudent for him to divulge. The terms were accepted; and Bertrand aſſumed the name of Clement the Fifth. In his return from church at Lyons, his horſe was led ſucceſſively by the king of France, his brothers, the counts of Valois and Evreux, and the duke of Brittany: But the proceſſion nearly proved fatal to Clement himſelf, and his princely attendants; a wall gave way beneath the preſſure and weight of the ſpectators; the duke of Brittany was killed; the king and the count of Valois were conſiderably bruiſed, and the pope narrowly eſcaped, his tiara being beaten off. The new pontiff fixed his reſidence at Avignon; and although he punctually complied with the reſt of the conditions

ditions which had been deſcribed, he poſitively refuſed to condemn, and after an appearance of enquiry, ſolemnly vindicated, the character and conduct of Boniface.

One condition yet remained within the boſom of the monarch; it was revealed by the death of the emperor Albert of Auſtria: The ambition of Philip aſpired to place his brother Charles of Valois on the imperial throne. Clement, ſenſible of the danger of being thus ſurrounded by the connections of Philip, and early appriſed of his intentions, eluded without rejecting the requeſt: In the ſtrongeſt terms he urged the electors to chooſe an emperor without delay, and pointed to Henry of Luxemburgh as worthy of their voices. Before the king of France could arrive at Avignon, he was informed the election was over; but he found ſome conſolation in re-uniting the city of Lyons to the crown of France, which hitherto had only acknowledged the independent authority of its archbiſhop, and which now yielded to the liberal promiſes and formidable arms of Philip.

In the treaty with Edward of England, Guy, earl of Flanders was excepted, and abandoned to the reſentment or rapacity of the king of France. The Flemings, poſſeſſed of the advantages of commerce, were A. D. 1299. 1314.

rich, fickle, and turbulent; impatient of the government of their counts, their intrigues invited, their diſcontents promoted, the arms of France. Charles Valois, at the head of a powerful army, ſoon reduced Guy de Dampier to throw himſelf on the mercy of the king; but the count obtained a promiſe, that neither his own, nor the freedom of his ſons ſhould be violated; and if in the ſpace of a year he could not compromiſe his differences with Philip, he ſhould be at liberty to retire, and purſue whatever meaſures he might deem expedient. To gratify the enmity of his conſort to his noble captive, Philip was prevailed on to diſavow the treaty, and mortally to wound his brother's honour and his own: The count with two of his ſons were cloſely impriſoned; the king of France entering Flanders in triumph, was received by the acclamations of the inhabitants; and appointed John de Chatillon, a relation of his queen, a man bold and penetrating, but at the ſame time haughty and oppreſſive, the governor of his new acquiſitions.

The Flemings, intent on trade alone, had neglected the internal defence of their country; their towns were rich and populous, but their fortifications had been ſuffered gradually to decay: Theſe were repaired by the activity of Chatillon, and citadels were erected to bridle the future levity of the

the inhabitants. But the poverty of the times allowed not the monarch to maintain regular garriſons; and the private murmurs of the people at Bruges and Ghent broke out into open inſurrections. The firſt ſparks were extinguiſhed by the vigilance of the magiſtrates; but the flame was re-kindled by the preſence of Chatillon, who entered Bruges with ſeventeen hundred horſe, and inſultingly diſplayed two hogſheads of ropes, the inſtruments of the executions he impatiently meditated. The people whom he had devoted to deſtruction took their meaſures with ſpeed and ſecrecy; the danger was inſtant, their determinations were unanimous; in one moment they roſe, and fifteen hundred French were exterminated; while Chatillon himſelf only eſcaped by ſwimming, under cover of the night, the town-ditch. Three ſons of Guy, who had ſheltered themſelves in Namur from the lawleſs ambition of Philip, were recalled by the Flemings; and at the head of ſixty thouſand inſurgents, preſſed the ſiege of Courtray. The count of Artois, on whom Philip had devolved the command of the French, with a numerous army, determined, contrary to the advice of the conſtable, the count de Neſle, to attack them in their intrenchments: He was the victim of his own raſhneſs, and the conſtable was involved in the ſame fate, with above twenty

thouſand of their troops. Philip, enraged at this ſecond diſaſter, to raiſe a new force debaſed his coin; and having exerted every effort, entered Flanders with a hoſt ſuperior to reſiſtance. But Edward, who beheld with concern the danger of his allies, artfully imparted, as a ſecret, to his queen, a feigned correſpondence of the nobles of France with the hoſtile court of Rome: Margaret communicated the intelligence to her brother Philip; and the king, diſtruſtful of the fidelity of his army, retired without performing any thing worthy his preparations or reputation.

The gallies of Genoa in the pay of France, in conjunction with thoſe of Hainault, obtained a victory over the fleet of the Flemings; and the king, in hopes of improving this advantage by the arts of negociation, releaſed the old count of Flanders, that he might perſuade his ſubjects to ſubmiſſion: But his arguments were ineffectual; and he honourably returned to expire, at the age of fourſcore years, a priſoner in Compeigne. Philip himſelf, his brothers the counts of Valois and Evreux, with the flower of French chivalry, re-entered Flanders, and approached the Flemiſh army at Mons. The Flemings were commanded by three ſons of their count; but in the hour of action, the chief authority was yielded to the military experience of one only, whoſe name was

Philip.

Philip. Their camp was haſtily fortified with their carriages; and animated by the love of freedom, they ſallied forth with impetuous valour: They were repulſed and driven back by the veteran courage of the French with fatal ſlaughter; yet far from yielding to deſpair, they renewed the attempt, favoured by the darkneſs of the night, and even penetrated to the tent of the king, who eſcaped their ſword with difficulty: But the French were rallied by the example and conduct of their nobles; the Flemings were again compelled to retire, and to abandon their camp with precipitation. Philip of Flanders threw himſelf into Liſle, which was immediately inveſted by the king of France, in hopes of terminating the war by the capture of that place. The garriſon had already conſented to ſurrender, unleſs relieved within a certain time; but when the king leaſt expected, he was ſurpriſed by the appearance of John of Namur at the head of ſixty thouſand men, undiſciplined indeed, but daring and deſperate. The king, doubtful of the event, conſented to releaſe Robert de Bethune, the eldeſt ſon of the count of Flanders; to receive his homage for the county; to accept of eight hundred thouſand livres as an indemnification for the expences of the war, for the payment of which ſum he was to retain Liſle, Douay, and Bethune. The treaty was again vio-

lated by Philip, towards the concluſion of his reign; but his hopes of annexing the valuable fief of Flanders to the crown of France were baffled by the ſteadineſs of the Flemings and the interpoſition of the pope; and the acquiſition of Courtray was the only fruit of an enterpriſe which exhauſted the reſources and alienated the minds of his ſubjects.

During the progreſs of the war, the attention of Europe had been excited by a criminal proceſs againſt the Knights Templars. This honourable Order had extended their poſſeſſions throughout every kingdom, and their immenſe revenues enabled them to ſupport a royal magnificence. In France they were accuſed of every ſpecies of ſenſual luxury which degrades human nature; and the doubtful evidence of two criminals, who obtained their forfeited lives from the ſecrets they affected to reveal, was ſtrengthened by the confeſſion of the Templars themſelves. Yet theſe ſoon retracted their declarations; and aſſerted, that the ſtain which they had fixed on their own reputation was extorted by the menace of impending deſtruction. Without the form of trial, their eſtates were confiſcated, and above fifty ſuffered death with unſhaken conſtancy. The grand maſter with three great officers, were, in the preſence of the king himſelf, conſumed by a ſlow fire;

fire; and maintained in their laſt moments the purity of their conduct. Their firmneſs commanded the belief of the people; and the avarice of Philip rather appears to have been gratified than the juſtice of the monarch to have been conſulted by their haſty condemnation.

From the fate of theſe unhappy victims, and his vain enterpriſes againſt the Flemings, the thoughts of Philip were engroſſed by the cares and miſeries of domeſtic life; the ſhame and diſorders of his own family could not be concealed from his knowledge and obſervation: His eldeſt ſon Lewis, who enjoyed the title of king of Navarre, had eſpouſed Margaret, the daughter of the duke of Burgundy; his two younger ſons, Philip and Charles, had married Jane and Blanch, the offspring of Otho, count of Burgundy. But public report loudly impeached the reputation of each princeſs; and all three were accuſed of violating the honour of their huſbands, and ſtaining the purity of the marriage-bed by their laſcivious amours. After a ſevere examination, Margaret and Blanch were condemned to expiate their licentious conduct by perpetual impriſonment; and their paramours, the brothers Philip and Walter de Launay, ſeverely atoned for the tranſports of illicit love: After ſuffering the torment of being flayed alive, they were ſuſpended with an uſher of

the chamber, the confidant of their amours, on a public gibbet.

A reign of continual activity might have impaired the conſtitution of Philip, a life of inceſſant chagrin and diſappointment ſubverted it; the ſilent progreſs of a conſumption was accelerated by the pang of domeſtic vexation: The powers of medicine were exhauſted, and even the ſalubrious air of Fontainbleau could not delay the rapid approach of death; in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the forty-ſeventh year of his age, Philip expired, in the ſentiments of penitence and piety, and with his laſt breath exhorting his ſucceſſor to avoid the errors which had embarraſſed his own adminiſtration. Though avarice and cruelty have caſt a ſhade over his talents and virtues, yet the vigour which he diſplayed in his conteſt with Boniface the Eighth, and the ſucceſs with which he reſiſted the formidable thunders of the vatican, are ſufficient to balance the misfortunes which conſtantly attended his ambitious wars with Flanders.

A. D. 1395.

Chapter the Eleventh.

REIGN OF LEWIS THE TENTH, SURNAMED THE *BOISTEROUS*; — IS SUCCEEDED BY PHILIP THE *LONG*. — EXPEDITION INTO ITALY. — EXECUTION OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS. — DEATH OF PHILIP THE *LONG*. ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE *FAIR*. — CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND, AND MURDER OF EDWARD THE SECOND. — CHARLES ASPIRES TO THE IMPERIAL CROWN OF GERMANY. — HIS DISAPPOINTMENT AND DEATH.

THE throne of France, on the death of Philip, was occupied by his ſon Lewis the Tenth, ſurnamed the *Boiſterous*, from the rude promiſe of his infant years. His firſt queen, Margaret, had been ſtrangled by the command of her huſband in the priſon of Chateau-Gaillard; and he endeavoured to forget the vices of a licentious woman in his nuptials with Clemence, the daughter of the king of Hungary. An empty treaſury delayed for ſome time the ceremony of their coronation; and the king diligently A. D. 1314.

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gently applied himſelf to conciliate the jealouſies and appeaſe the diſcontents of his new ſubjects: In this he was ſeconded by his uncle Charles of Valois, on whom he at length entirely devolved the reins of government.

The firſt victim to the reſentment of Charles was Enguerrand de Poitier de Marigni, a nobleman of Norman extraction, who with the adminiſtration of the finances poſſeſſed the confidence of the late monarch. He was accuſed by the count of Valois as the author of the national diſtreſs, and the ſource of the royal neceſſities. The warmth with which he vindicated his character enſured the eternal enmity of Charles; and the ſhameful ſentence, in conſequence of which he periſhed on a gibbet, might warn future miniſters how they provoked that implacable and powerful prince. The fortunes of Marigni were confiſcated to the uſe of the ſovereign; but theſe were ſcarcely ſufficient to defray the coronation which was celebrated at Rheims; and as much as they fell ſhort of the public expectation, ſo much did they contribute to eſtabliſh the innocence of the unfortunate Enguerrand. Far different ſupplies were neceſſary for the ſupport of a war with Flanders, which Lewis already meditated: Every ſpecies of extortion was deviſed and practiſed to plunder the

A. D. 1315, 1316.

ſubjects

ſubjects of France; and by the oppreſſion of his people, Lewis raiſed an army which might have ſecured the ſubjection of the Flemings, already enfeebled by the attacks of famine. But Robert de Bethune, count of Flanders, unable to withſtand, prudently determined to bend before the ſtorm: By the ſpecious language of ſubmiſſion he involved the king in a ſeries of fruitleſs negociations, till the ſeaſon of action was paſſed; he then dropped the maſk which he had aſſumed, and on the retreat of the French ſurpriſed Courtray, which he had yielded as a pledge of his ſincerity. While Lewis, indignant of the arts of his adverſary, revolved new preparations and more formidable hoſtilities, his deſigns were interrupted by death; after drinking a glaſs of cold water, and not without the ſuſpicion of poiſon from the ſurviving friends of Marigni, he expired in the twenty-ſixth year of his age, and the ſecond year of his reign; leaving by his firſt wife, Margaret, who had been crowned queen of Navarre, an only daughter, and his widow Clemence in a ſtate of pregnancy.

Immediately on his death, Charles, A. D. 1316.
count of Valois, ſeized the Louvre, and prepared to diſpute the regency with the brothers of his late ſovereign. The eldeſt of theſe, Philip, count of Poictou, was engaged at Lyons, where

where a conclave was held for the election of a ſucceſſor to the vacant apoſtolical chair. It was not till a month after the deceaſe of his brother, that he was able to terminate the intrigues of the cardinals, and to purſue his more immediate concerns in Paris. During his abſence, his pretenſions had been ſupported by the conſtable, the count of Evreux, who oppoſed the frantic ambition of his brother Charles of Valois; and the hopes of that turbulent prince vaniſhed on the appearance of Philip, and the unanimous acclamations of the citizens. Although the regency was thus happily ſettled, a harder taſk remained in determining the ſucceſſion: The claim of the princeſs Joanna, the daughter of Lewis and Margaret, was urged by Charles, count of Marche, the younger brother of the late king and of the preſent regent, by Eudes, duke of Burgundy, and by the counts of Valois and Evreux, who ſeemed to conſider the kingdom as a great fief: But the majority alleged, that the greateſt part of France conſiſted of Salic lands, which a daughter was debarred from inheriting, and that the ſucceſſion to the realm ought to be regulated in the ſame manner. The proſpects of Philip were tranſiently clouded by Clemence being delivered of a ſon, who ſurvived only three weeks, but who, under the name of John the Firſt, has been enrolled among the kings of France.

The

The death of this infant eſtabliſhed Philip, who from his lofty ſtature attained the ſurname of *Long*, on the throne of France. During his ſhort regency he had diſplayed the important qualities of vigour and valour in a war with Robert, count of Artois, undertaken to ſupport Matilda, counteſs of Artois, the mother of his conſort. To acquire the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy, with the county of that name he beſtowed upon him the hand of his eldeſt daughter; and gained his uncle, the count of Evreux, by promiſing in marriage to his ſon the infant queen of Navarre; while the count of Marche was ſoon diſpoſed to concur in the elevation of his brother and the excluſion of the female line, which opened to his own ambition the road to royalty. A. D. 1317, 1319.

The frank profeſſions and moderate meaſures of Philip reconciled his ſubjects to his government, and extinguiſhed the riſing ſparks of ſedition: The Flemings, convinced of the rectitude of his intentions, and terrified by the thunders of the vatican, compelled their count, Robert, to ſubſcribe a fair and equitable peace. He ſummoned Edward the Second, who had ſucceeded to the throne of England, to yield him homage for his poſſeſſions in France; but that monarch was unwilling to quit a king- A. D. 1320.

dom

dom diſtracted by contending factions and the ambition of his conſort, and his excuſes were accepted by the moderation of Philip. But the judgment of the king of France was clouded by the fumes of enthuſiaſm: In the life-time of his father he had taken the croſs; and his ſubjects had reaſon to lament the diligence with which he endeavoured to repleniſh his coffers, that he might fulfil the romantic vow. From the execution of it he was diſſuaded by pope John the Twenty-ſecond: The intereſt of the court of Rome and Italy in general called for the powerful mediation of the king of France; and an army commanded by Philip, count of Mans, and ſon of Charles Valois, entered the country, to reconcile the two factions, which raged with eternal enmity, under the names of Guelfs and Ghibelines. Theſe, during the conteſts of pope Gregory the Eighth and the emperor Henry the Fourth, had ariſen in Germany; and for ſucceſſive centuries they divided and diſtracted the different ſtates of Italy. The Guelfs ſupported the pretenſions of the pope, the Ghibelines the rights of the emperor; but the count of Mans was perſuaded to retreat by the promiſes of Gallas de Viſconti, lord of Milan and the chief of the Ghibelines, without contributing to the influence of the Roman pontiff, or to his own reputation or glory.

The

The inglorious event of this expedition was loſt in a contagious diſorder, which ſwept off myriads of the inhabitants of France. The wild fancies of the age impreſſed the people with an idea that the Jews had conſpired with the Saracens to poiſon the ſprings and fountains; and that the former had devolved the execution of the viſionary treachery on an unfortunate race of men infected with the leproſy, a diſeaſe common at that time, and probably the conſequence of bad diet. On theſe chimerical imputations, numbers of the lepers who lived by themſelves in hoſpitals richly endowed were burnt alive; and the Jews were abandoned to the undiſcerning rage of the populace, who inſulted their perſons and plundered their houſes with wanton impunity and impartial rapacity. A. D. 1321.

The prudence of Philip, when miſtaken zeal biaſſed not his opinions, was ever employed in concerting the real happineſs of his people; he attempted to complete a deſign begun by his predeceſſors, and to eſtabliſh a certain ſtandard for the coin, the weights, and the meaſures throughout France. From the counts of Valois, Clermont, and Bourbon, he purchaſed their claims of coinage within their own dominions; but though he carefully explained the benefits which muſt ariſe to France in general from perſevering A. D. 1322.

perſevering in this undertaking, he found himſelf continually embarraſſed by new and unexpected obſtacles. A report was induſtriouſly circulated, that, to ſurmount theſe, he intended to levy a fifth on every man's eſtate; and the public diſcontent was increaſed by the diſaffection of the clergy, whom the king by a law had excluded from ſitting in parliament. The mind of Philip was too ſenſibly wounded by the injurious ſuſpicions of his ſubjects; he beheld his honeſt endeavours productive of jealouſy and diſappointment; the violence of a fever only gave way to the mortal ravages of a dyſentery; and after languiſhing for about five months, in the ſixth year of his reign, and the twenty-eighth year of his age, he cloſed a life of unſucceſsful virtue. The hiſtorians of a credulous age have not failed to attribute his death to poiſon; but they all agree in acknowledging that he conſtantly merited, though he never could acquire, the eſteem and affections of his ſubjects.

A. D. 1322, 1323. The tardy acquieſcence of Charles the Fourth in the excluſion of the female line and the ſucceſſion of the deceaſed monarch, was rewarded with the crown of France, and he aſcended the throne with the ſurname of *Fair*. The duke of Burgundy, who had married the eldeſt daughter of Philip the *Long*, was the firſt

firſt to yield him homage; but he at the ſame time ineffectually urged the claim of his conſort to the county of Poictou, which had been poſſeſſed by her father before he attained to royal greatneſs: The parliament of France determined that county had only been granted by Philip the Fair to his ſon and his heirs male, and declared the pretenſions of the duke of Burgundy groundleſs. The next concern which engaged the attention of Charles was to diſſolve his marriage with Blanch of Burgundy, who for her irregularities was ſtill confined in the priſon of Chateau Gaillard: The convenient pretence of conſanguinity enabled the court of Rome to gratify his inclinations; and the king beſtowed his hand on Mary, the daughter of Henry, emperor of Germany.

The ſceptre of England was at this time held by the feeble hand of Edward the Second, whoſe queen Iſabella was the ſiſter of Charles. Some differences between the two kingdoms induced the latter to ſummon the former perſonally to appear in his court, and do homage for the fiefs which he held in France; but the favourite of the king of England, a young man of the name of Spenſer, of high rank and of a noble family, had already provoked the enmity of Iſabella; he was therefore unwilling to attend his maſter to Paris, and expoſe himſelf in a court A. D. 1324, 1327.

where the credit of that princeſs was ſo great; ſtill leſs was he inclined to hazard the abſence of the eaſy and fickle king: At length he embraced an expedient, which ſeemed contrived to remove all difficulties, but which proved fatal to his own authority and life. Edward reſigned to his eldeſt ſon, of the ſame name, and then only thirteen years of age, the dominion of Guienne; and with his mother that prince ſet out for Paris, to perform the ceremony of homage to his ſuperior lord. But Iſabella, on her arrival in France, drew to her ſide the Engliſh fugitives, the common enemies of Spenſer and of her huſband: Among theſe the moſt conſiderable was Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron of the Welch Marches, who had eſcaped from a ſentence of perpetual impriſonment, and was diſtinguiſhed by his ſuperior animoſity to the miniſter; he was eaſily admitted to pay his court to the queen, and his perſon and addreſs ſoon commanded her affections. To her paſſion ſhe ſacrificed every ſentiment of honour and virtue; and the moment ſhe had injured Edward, her contempt for him was changed into implacable hatred. The prince was already in the power of the royal adultereſs and her paramour; the court of Iſabella was daily ſwelled by the acceſſion of exiled nobles; a correſpondence was ſecretly carried on with the malcontent party in England;

England; and when Edward required the return of his wife and ſon, the queen indignantly anſwered, that ſhe would never ſet her foot in the kingdom till Spenſer was for ever removed from his preſence and councils.

In the tranſient hoſtilities between France and England, the celebrated count of Valois, the uncle of the king, had ſucceſsfully invaded Guienne, and cloſed a life of turbulent ambition under the preſſure of an uncommon diſeaſe, which baffled the ſkill of the phyſicians; his laſt breath was devoted to repentance, and he inceſſantly expreſſed his contrition for the injury he had offered to the unfortunate Marigni. Before he cloſed his eyes, a truce had been agreed upon between England and France; but the king was ſtill actuated by the ſpirit of his uncle, and was eager to take advantage of the weakneſs of Edward and the diſſenſions of his family; but he was at the ſame time ſenſible that his conduct was ſtrictly watched by the pope and neighbouring princes; he had already conſented to receive the homage of the young Edward, and no pretence any longer remained for openly ſupporting the party of his ſiſter. Iſabella and her ſon were commanded to retire from the dominions of France; but ſhe had already affianced her ſon to Philippa, the daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault: His ter-

ritories offered a ſecure aſylum; the open aid of the count, and the private aſſiſtance of her brother Charles, enabled her to raiſe a force of near three thouſand men: With this ſhe ſailed from Dort, landed without oppoſition on the coaſt of Suſſex, and ſoon found herſelf at the head of a formidable army. The feeble forces of the royaliſts were incapable of ſtemming the torrent; Spenſer was condemned without trial, and ignominiouſly periſhed on a gibbet; and the unfortunate king himſelf, after the indignity of a formal depoſition and a ſhort confinement, fell a victim in Berkeley-caſtle to his unfeeling and laſcivious conſort, and the ruthleſs ambition of the impatient Mortimer.

Whatever aſſiſtance Charles might privately have afforded to his ſiſter, whatever was his ſecret ſatisfaction at her ſucceſs, he publicly affected to arraign her conduct; and during the life of Edward the Second, would never acknowledge the royal title of his ſon. With more honour and juſtice he had concurred with his parliament in ſupporting the claims of Lewis de Bethune to the ſucceſſion and titles of his grand-father Robert, count of Flanders, Nevers, and Rhetel, in oppoſition to the pretenſions of the uncle of Lewis and the younger ſon of Robert, who had endeavoured to oppreſs his nephew. But the important object of the ambition of Charles, which occupied his

his thoughts and inflamed his hopes, was the imperial diadem of Germany: From the decline of the race of Charlemagne it had conſtantly been ſeparated from the crown of France; and the preſent monarch was ardently deſirous of re-uniting the long-loſt dignity. In his marriage he had connected himſelf in that expectation with Henry of Luxemburgh; and a favourable opportunity ſeemed now to preſent itſelf of attaining the height of mortal grandeur. The imperial dignity had been diſputed by Lewis of Bavaria, A. D. and by Frederick of Auſtria; and the 1325, 1328. former, in a ſucceſsful field of battle, had rendered himſelf maſter of the perſon of the latter: But his victory could not ſubdue the inflexible hatred of pope John the Twenty-ſecond; and the Roman pontiff, fruitful in intrigue, ſummoned new enemies from every quarter to diſturb the tranquillity of his reign. The ſpiritual thunders of excommunication were hurled againſt the head of Lewis; and the execution of the ſentence of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter was entruſted to the arm of Leopold of Auſtria, the brother of the vanquiſhed and impriſoned Frederick. To ſtrengthen this confederacy, the king of France was allured by the promiſe of the imperial ſpoils of the Bavarian, and Frederick was to reſign to him the pretenſions which he himſelf had ſo unpropitiouſly aſ-

ſerted. Lewis was not ignorant of, or indifferent to, the ſtorm which was gathering; and he endeavoured to encounter his adverſaries with equal arts: By immediately releaſing his rival, Frederick, he engaged his grateful friendſhip, and diſarmed his moſt formidable antagoniſt. But the pope was not to be diverted from his deſign by the deſertion of ſo powerful an ally; the hopes of a conſiderable ſum of money ſecured the perſeverance of Leopold; and it was determined that a new council of the electors ſhould be held, to transfer the imperial crown to Charles.

Seduced by theſe vain promiſes and flattering expectations, the king of France, with a ſplendid equipage and a gallant train of nobility, ſet out for the frontiers of Germany; but he was ſoon convinced that he followed an airy phantom, which conſtantly eluded his graſp. Of the various princes who had profeſſed themſelves in his intereſt, the avarice of Leopold alone ſecured his appearance; even the king of Bohemia abſented himſelf with an indifference ſimilar to the reſt; and the death of his ſiſter Mary, the queen of France, diſſolved the engagements which he had entered into with that crown.

A fall had proved fatal to Mary and the hopes which Charles had derived from her pregnancy: Solicitous to eſtabliſh by male heirs the peaceable

ſucceſſion

ſucceſſion of the crown, on the death of his conſort he raiſed to the royal bed his couſin-german, Joanna, daughter to Lewis, count of Evreux; yet anticipating the calamities which afterwards afflicted his kingdom, he endeavoured by every alliance to avert the impending tempeſt. In his treaty with Robert, king of Scotland, he had inſerted an article, that in caſe either Monarch ſhould die without an heir apparent, the ſtates of the kingdom ſhould fill the vacant throne, and the other king ſhould ſupport with his whole force the legality of their nomination againſt the pretenſions of any competitor. But even theſe precautions were too weak to reſtrain the enterpriſes of inordinate ambition; and the vigilance of the monarch, though thus inceſſantly diſplayed, was inſufficient to protect his ſubjects from the miſeries to which they were deſtined.

Charles, on the death of Edward the Second, had ſummoned his ſon and ſucceſſor, Edward the Third, to yield him homage for the lands which he held in France: But in conformity with the general moderation of his government, he accepted as an excuſe the unſettled ſtate of that monarch's affairs; and equally inclined to propitiate the princes of the blood, he beſtowed on Lewis, the grandſon of Lewis the Ninth, the county of Marche, in exchange for A. D. 1328.

Clermont, and erected into a dukedom his barony of Bourbon. The gradual decay of his health announced his approaching diſſolution, and he expired in the ſeventh year of his reign and the thirty-fourth year of his age, leaving his queen pregnant: When on his death-bed reminded of ſettling the ſucceſſion, he anſwered, that if his conſort was delivered of a daughter, that important care belonged to the parliament.

As the character of Charles was not diſtinguiſhed by eminent virtues, it alſo appears to have been devoid of any unworthy vices: His zeal for juſtice was ſteady yet temperate; and he puniſhed the daring outrages of Jourdain de Liſle, a powerful nobleman of Aquitaine, without regard to his wealth, his birth, or his marriage with the niece of pope John. That turbulent baron had been ſummoned to anſwer before the king to eighteen crimes, of which he had been accuſed; he heſitated not to ſwell the number by the inhuman murder of the officer who had been directed to cite him: Yet vain of his alliance with the Roman pontiff, he had the imprudence ſoon after to enter the court of that ſovereign, whoſe juſtice he had braved, and whoſe dignity he had ſo dangerouſly wounded: The king commanded him inſtantly to be arreſted, and ſentenced him to the ignominy of a public execution, the juſt reward of his atrocious guilt.

From

From Hugh Capet to Lewis Hutin, the crown of France had deſcended from father to ſon for eleven generations; and the ſucceſſive reigns of the different monarchs had all contributed to extend their dominions and authority: They had ſhaken off their ſervile dependence on the clergy, they had reduced the exorbitant power of the nobility, and had eſtabliſhed the royal revenue on a more certain and permanent foundation; after near three centuries and a half the immediate poſterity of Hugh expired in Charles the Fourth, and the ſceptre was placed in the hands of the race of Valois.

Chapter the Twelfth.

ACCESSION OF PHILIP THE SIXTH, SURNAMED THE *FORTUNATE*, THE FIRST OF THE RACE OF VALOIS.—CLAIM OF EDWARD THE THIRD OF ENGLAND.—CHARACTER OF ROBERT OF ARTOIS;—OF JAMES D'ARTEVILLE.—WARS BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.—BATTLE OF CRECY.—SIEGE OF CALAIS.—TRUCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.—DEATH OF PHILIP THE SIXTH.

THE male poſterity of Philip the Fair expired in Charles the Fourth; and while the ſucceſſion depended on the fruit of his widow's pregnancy, the unſettled ſtate of the kingdom demanded a regent. Two competitors appeared for this important truſt; and in their pretenſions to the regency, urged their claims to the crown. The one was Philip de Valois, couſin-german to the deceaſed king, being the ſon of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair; the other was Edward, king of England, who in right

A. D. 1328.

right of his mother aſpired to the throne of France as the nephew of Charles the Fair. But females had long been excluded by an eſtabliſhed opinion which had acquired equal authority with the moſt expreſs and poſitive law: It had been recently confirmed in the ſucceſſion of Philip the Long, in preference to the daughter of Lewis the Tenth; and even had it been admitted, it muſt have proved fatal to the hopes of Edward, as each of the three laſt kings had left behind them daughters who were ſtill alive. Under theſe circumſtances, Edward thought proper to abandon the ground of immediate female ſucceſſion; and to aſſert, that although his mother Iſabella was, on account of her ſex, incapable of ſucceeding, yet he himſelf, who inherited through her, was liable to no ſuch objection, and might claim by the right of propinquity; and that while the weakneſs of a woman was precluded from aſcending the throne of France, the ſame excluſion did not extend to the manly pretenſions of her iſſue. Yet had this argument been allowed, the proſpects of Edward would have been intercepted by Charles, king of Navarre, deſcended from the daughter of Lewis, ſurnamed the Boiſterous; but they were equally oppoſed by cuſtom and policy; the claim of Philip de Valois to the regency was unanimouſly admitted; and on the queen dowager being deli-

vered

vered of a daughter, he aſcended the throne of France with the ſurname of *Fortunate*.

The coronation of the new monarch was celebrated at Rheims, and among the peers who aſſiſted was Lewis, count of Flanders, perſecuted and driven into exile by his ſubjects for his invariable attachment to France. The honour and intereſt of Philip both prompted him to reſtore him, and the firſt moments of his reign were employed in levying, a powerful army: Accompanied by the king of Navarre, the duke of Burgundy, and the flower of his nobility, he entered Flanders, and found the Flemings ſtrongly entrenched on the ſide of a ſteep mountain, with a river in their front, and the town of Caſſel in their rear. Their inferior numbers were ſupplied by their impracticable poſition; and Philip muſt have retired equally inglorious with his predeceſſors, had he not been preſerved from ſo diſgraceful a meaſure by the precipitate valour of the Flemings themſelves. On the memorable eve of St. Bartholomew they iſſued from their works, and attacked the French with an impetuoſity as reſiſtleſs as it was unexpected; they penetrated even to the tent of the king, who eſcaped with difficulty amidſt the general confuſion. But his ſkill and example ſoon rallied his flying troops, and he ſeverely avenged his danger and diſgrace; the Flemings were totally

tally defeated; the town of Caſſel was abandoned to the flames; and the ſubjects of the count of Flanders were compelled, reluctantly, to receive a maſter whom they regarded with increaſe of hatred.

Although the pretenſions of Edward to the regency had been rejected by the general voice of France, yet Philip could not reflect on the claim of ſo formidable a rival without a latent ſpark of jealouſy. He had already ſummoned the Engliſh monarch to yield him homage for the lands he held in France; and in conſequence of his contemptuous ſilence had ſeized his revenues in that kingdom. To obtain the reſtoration of theſe, Edward thought proper to paſs the ſeas, and ſubmit to the ſervile ceremony at Amiens. The ſpirit of a haughty and gallant youth might have revolted, in a martial age, at appearing bare-headed and without arms or ſpurs before a prince whoſe equal he conſidered himſelf; and the prudence of Philip conſented to receive the homage in any form, on condition that it ſhould be afterwards explained in the manner moſt ſatisfactory to him. On the return of Edward to England, this explanation was ſtudiouſly delayed; and Charles, duke of Alencon, the brother of the king of France, entered Guienne, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Sainte. Unwilling to forfeit

A. D. 1329, 1330.

ſeit ſo rich an inheritance, the king of England ſent over a formal deed, in which he acknowledged that he owed liege homage to France; and the flame of enmity between the rival ſovereigns would perhaps have been finally extinguiſhed, had it not been fanned by the intrigues of a powerful and diſcontented ſubject of France.

Robert of Artois was deſcended from the blood royal of France, had eſpouſed the ſiſter of Philip, and was ſtill more diſtinguiſhed by his enterpriſing capacity than by his birth or alliance. In the late conteſt for the regency he had pleaded the cauſe of Philip with ſplendid eloquence and ſucceſsful energy; and in the war with Flanders he added the fame of a ſoldier and a general to the reputation he had before acquired of an orator and a ſtateſman. He had already been gratified with ſeveral marks of royal favour; but he found although Philip was inclined to reward a ſervant, he was too prudent to create a maſter: He had loſt the county of Artois, which he claimed as his birthright, by a ſentence commonly deemed iniquitous, of Philip the Fair; and he was now tempted to recover it by means unworthy of his rank and character. The written evidences which he produced to ſupport his claim were, on inſpection, diſcovered to be forged; and the detection of this crime covered him with ſhame and confuſion.

confuſion. The king of France, his brother-in-law, with an honourable indignation not only abandoned him, but proſecuted him with violence. From the diſgrace and puniſhment which impended over him, Robert eſcaped to Brabant; and driven thence by the menaces of Philip, with the wealth which he had amaſſed he paſſed over to England. He was received with reſpect and regard by Edward; nor could the repeated remonſtrances of the French king exclude him from the councils and the confidence of the Engliſh monarch. Perhaps the favour of Edward towards Robert of Artois was firſt ſuggeſted by the reſentment with which he beheld David Bruce, who had fled from the ſword of his competitor, Baliol, king of Scotland, partially entertained by the court of France; and the ſuſpicion that Philip, by his ſecret practices, ſtill encouraged the Scots in their ſtruggles for independence. But the arts of Robert ſoon revived in the mind of his new patron his former pretenſions to the crown of France; and the flattering proſpect which was preſented to his view by the ſpecious colouring of an enraged exile, was regarded by Edward with boundleſs hope and expectation.

From this inſtant both princes, relinquiſhing all ideas of peace, induſtriouſly prepared for war. Under pretence of unfurling A. D. 1330, 1337.

furling the holy banner againſt the infidels, Philip diligently levied new forces, and fitted out a conſiderable fleet; he attached to his intereſts the pope, the king of Navarre, the duke of Brittany, and the count of Bar; and fortified himſelf on the ſide of Germany with the alliance of the king of Bohemia, the Palatine, the dukes of Lorraine and Auſtria, the biſhop of Liege, the counts of Deuxpont, Vaudemont, and Geneva. On the other, Edward was ſupported by his father-in-law the count of Hainault; and engaged by large ſubſidies the dukes of Brabrant and Gueldres, the archbiſhop of Cologn, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, and the lords of Fauquemont and Baquen: But his moſt conſiderable and important ally was James d'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent.

In the cultivation of arts and manufactures the lower ranks of the Flemings had acquired a degree of independence generally unknown in an age when the common people were almoſt univerſally enſlaved by the feudal inſtitutions. With the increaſe of wealth they became more ardent in the purſuit of that freedom, which alone could ſecure the poſſeſſion of it: In ſucceſſive tumultuary conflicts they had inſulted their nobles, and driven their earl into exile; but the ſeditious herd conſented to obey the commanding genius of James d'Arteville,

d'Arteville, who governed them with a more abſolute ſway than had ever been aſſumed by any of their lawful ſovereigns. Conſtantly accompanied by a guard devoted to his will, his diſpleaſure was the ſignal of immediate death; the magiſtrates were entirely dependent on his nod; and every city of Flanders was filled with his ſpies and adherents. The eſtates of thoſe whom he had baniſhed or murdered, he converted to his own uſe; and the few nobles who ventured to remain within the reach of his lawleſs tyranny, were compelled to propitiate his rage by the moſt abject ſubmiſſions. To this arrogant and arbitrary demagogue Edward aſſiduouſly applied himſelf; and the Engliſh monarch, naturally haughty and aſpiring, courted the friendſhip and alliance of the Flemiſh tradeſman by every flattering profeſſion that intereſt could ſuggeſt.

A conſiderable time had been conſumed in ſecret negociations and warlike preparations; and both ſides, impatient of further delay, were ready to enter upon action. Edward, with a formidable armament, paſſed the ſeas, and landed at Sluys: But two obſtacles ſtill remained; the vaſſals of the empire could not act under the command of Edward without the direction of the emperor, who ſtill maintained the exterior of peace with France; and the Flemings A. D. 1338.

pretended the ſame ſcruples with regard to the invaſion of their liege lord. The firſt was overcome by the emperor Lewis appointing Edward *vicar of the empire*; an empty honour, but which ſerved to baniſh the doubts of the German princes: And to obviate the ſecond, Edward, by the advice of James d'Arteville, aſſumed the title of king of France, and branded Philip de Valois with the name of Uſurper. Yet the king of England ventured not on this ſtep without heſitation and reluctance; and his mind ſeemed filled with too true a preſage of the calamities which would enſue to the rival kingdoms from this fatal ſource of eternal enmity.

After having devoted, to gratify his German allies, a few moments in the fruitleſs ſiege of Cambray, Edward advanced towards the frontiers of France; and was ſoon convinced of the difficulties he muſt contend with by the deſertion of his brother-in-law the count of Hainault, and the count of Namur, who diſregarding the claim of Edward to the crown of France, refuſed to act againſt their liege lord, and retired with the troops under their immediate command. Yet this diminution of his forces did not prevent Edward from paſſing the Scheld, and appearing in the fields of Veronſoffe, near Capelle, with an army of fifty thouſand men. Near one hundred thouſand

French,

French, commanded by the flower of their nobility, and animated by the preſence of their monarch, approached thoſe plains: But the prudence of Philip was conſpicuous on this occaſion; and he was determined to avoid a deciſive action, in which he could gain but little and muſt hazard much. It was his duty to defend his country, without unneceſſarily expoſing it to the chance of war; and he ſoon reaped the fruits of his caution, ſince the exhauſted finances of his adverſary compelled him to diſband his army, after having anticipated his revenue, and incurred a heavy debt in the hopeleſs enterpriſe.

On the retreat of his rival, the attention of Philip was firſt occupied in the endeavour of reconciling the Flemings to their exiled lord, and alluring them to the cauſe of France; but his efforts were baffled by the influence of James d'Arteville, who ſteadily adhered to Edward. After a year waſted in deſultory deſcents on either coaſt, and indeciſive actions at ſea, the French monarch was once more arouſed by the formidable preparations of the king of England to the defence of his crown and kingdom. For this purpoſe he fitted out a fleet of four hundred veſſels, manned with forty thouſand men, and ſtationed them off Sluys, to intercept the paſſage of Edward. The Engliſh navy con- A. D. 1339, 1340.

ſiſted only of two hundred and forty ſail; but the wind was favourable to their hopes, and they were encouraged by the preſence and example of their king. The encounter was fierce and bloody, and ſuch as might be expected in an age when the ſovereignty of the ſea depended rather on perſonal valour than naval ſkill. In the heat of the action the Flemings, near whoſe coaſt the French had imprudently engaged, iſſued from their harbours, and oppreſſed their weary adverſaries with freſh and unexpected fury; two hundred and thirty of the French ſhips were taken; and with two admirals of France periſhed thirty thouſand of her braveſt ſeamen: So fatal was the loſs, that the courtiers of Philip preſerved a gloomy ſilence; and the ſovereign was at length informed of the national calamity by the privileged tongue of a licenſed jeſter.

The ſucceſs of Edward raiſed the hopes of his allies, who, in the moment of proſperity, crowded to his ſtandard: At the head of a various army, compoſed of different nations, and amounting to one hundred thouſand men, he pointed his march towards the frontiers of France, while fifty thouſand Flemings, under the command of Robert of Artois, laid ſiege to St. Omer. But this undiſciplined and tumultuous crowd was routed by a ſally from the garriſon, and was not to be rallied

rallied again by the capacity or exertions of their leader. Philip had already drawn together the ſcattered forces of his kingdom; the numbers of his hoſt were ennobled by the quality of his adherents; and the kings of Bohemia, Scotland, and Navarre marched under his banner. He found Edward engaged in the blockade of Tournay, a city whoſe fortifications and garriſon had reſiſted the inceſſant aſſaults of the Engliſh, and which the beſiegers could only hope to reduce by famine. The count of Eu, to whoſe valour and perſeverance the defence of this important town was entruſted, had expelled from the walls every uſeleſs mouth; and the duke of Brabant, jealous of the ſucceſs of Edward, allowed to the inhabitants, thus exiled, a free paſſage through his quarters.

For ten weeks Edward had preſſed his attacks, or intercepted the ſupplies of Tournay; but the approach of Philip diſſipated his viſionary hopes. To the vain bravado of the Engliſh monarch to decide their differences in ſingle combat, the king of France coldly replied, that Edward having done homage to him for Guienne, and ſolemnly acknowledged him for his ſuperior, it ill became him to ſend a challenge to his liege lord; but that if he would put the kingdom of England on the iſſue of their perſonal proweſs, he

would readily accept the challenge. Although theſe mutual defiances might ſerve to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar, both monarchs, equally tired of a fruitleſs campaign, liſtened to the peaceful remonſtrances of Jane, the counteſs dowager of Hainault. This princeſs was mother-in-law to Edward, and ſiſter to Philip. To aſſuage the animoſities of contending kings, ſhe had left the holy walls of her convent, and her pious efforts were productive of a truce for a year, which left both parties in poſſeſſion of their different acquiſitions, and allowed each time to prepare for freſh hoſtilities.

A. D. 1341. Before even this ſhort term could elapſe, an event as unfortunate as it was unforeſeen kindled again the flames of war, and ſpread their deſtructive progreſs to a much wider extent. John, the third duke of Brittany, ſenſible of his approaching end, was ſolicitous to prevent thoſe diſorders to which a diſputed ſucceſſion might expoſe his ſubjects; he conſidered a daughter, the only iſſue of his brother the count of Penthievre, as his heir; and preferred her title to that of the count of Mountfort, his brother by a different mother: He was farther confirmed in this opinion by his own family having inherited the duchy from a female; he accordingly beſtowed the hand of his niece on Charles of Blois, nephew of the king

king of France, by his mother, Margaret of Valois, ſiſter of that monarch, and who, from his abilities and connection, was, he preſumed, capable of defending the claim he thus transferred to him. The Bretons concurred in his choice; and among his vaſſals the count of Mountfort, the male heir, ſwore fealty to Charles and his conſort, as their future ſovereigns.

But the death of John revived the ambition of Mountfort; and while Charles was employed in ſoliciting at the court of France the inveſtiture of the duchy, his daring competitor, by force or intrigue, had made himſelf maſter of Rennes, Nantz, Breſt, and Hennebonne; and had ſecretly engaged to yield homage to Edward, as the king of France, for the duchy of Brittany. Such a vaſſal opened to the king of England a paſſage into the heart of France; this conſideration was enforced by the eloquence of Robert of Artois; and Edward readily conſented to a treaty which at once flattered his hopes of dominion and his thirſt for revenge.

Philip had early ſuſpected the correſpondence between Mountfort and the king of England; and when the latter ventured to appear at Paris, determined to arreſt him, and compel him to reſtore what he had ſeized. Jealous of the intentions of the king of France, that nobleman with-

drew; and his retreat was the ſignal of war between him and Charles of Blois. In ſupport of his kinſman, John, duke of Normandy, the eldeſt ſon of Philip, entered Brittany, and inveſted Mountfort in the city of Nantz. The fortifications of that place might perhaps have reſiſted for ſome time the attack of the beſiegers, but Nantz was betrayed by the treachery of the inhabitants; and Mountfort himſelf was conducted a captive to Paris, and confined in the Louvre.

A. D. 1342. Philip, who had ſucceeded to the throne of France by the excluſion of the female line, armed in ſupport of his nephew, whoſe claim was derived from his marriage with a niece of the late Duke of Britanny, and held in chains a prince whoſe pretenſions were ſimilar to his own: But the party of Mountfort was ſtill animated by the manly ſpirit of his conſort, who, inſtead of deploring with female weakneſs the captivity of her huſband, rouſed the ſtates of Brittany to reſiſt an uſurper impoſed upon them by the arms of France. Inveſted in Hennebonne, ſhe ſuſtained with undaunted courage the aſſaults of Charles of Blois; when the ſtrength of that city ſeemed exhauſted, ſhe broke through the lines of the beſiegers, retired to Breſt, and forced her paſſage back with the important ſuccour of five hundred horſe. Theſe examples of female valour

lour might retard, but could not have averted the fate of Hennebonne; a capitulation had already been propoſed by the biſhop of Leon, when the exulting counteſs beheld from the rampart the long-expected fleet of England ſteering to her relief. Six thouſand archers, with a body of heavy cavalry, were immediately landed under the command of Sir Walter Manny, a brave and experienced leader; and Charles of Blois was compelled to retire with a ſigh of diſappointment from the hopeleſs ſiege.

A more conſiderable reinforcement ſoon followed theſe, under the guidance of Robert of Artois; and the impatient exile ſignaliſed his proweſs by the ſucceſsful attack of Vannes. The Bretons who adhered to Charles, ſecretly aſſembled to recover this important city; and Robert was compelled to relinquiſh his prey, after receiving a wound which ſoon after terminated a life, the ſource of ſo many calamities to his country. Edward, eager to revenge the fate of his ally, landed himſelf with an army of twelve thouſand men at Morbien, near Vannes, and commenced at once the three important ſieges of Vannes, of Rennes, and of Nantz. But by dividing his forces, he failed in every enterpriſe; and while he faintly proſecuted his attempt againſt Vannes, Philip had drawn

A. D. 1342, 1343.

drawn together an army of thirty thouſand infantry and four thouſand cavalry. Theſe entered Britanny, commanded by his eldeſt ſon, John, duke of Normandy; and by their ſuperior numbers, and lines of circumvallation, inveſted in their turn the beſiegers. Famine had already penetrated into the camp of the Engliſh; but the policy of Edward prevailed, when his arms were uſeleſs; in the moment when the duke of Normandy was maſter of the fate of his opponents, and might have dictated terms which would have extinguiſhed the flames of diſcord, he was induced, by the mediation of two legates of the court of Rome, to ſubſcribe a truce for three years on theſe fair and equitable conditions: That all priſoners ſhould be releaſed; that the places in Brittany ſhould remain in the hands of the preſent poſſeſſors; that the allies on both ſides ſhould be comprehended in the ceſſation of arms; and that Vannes ſhould be ſequeſtered into the hands of the legates during the truce, to be afterwards diſpoſed of according to their pleaſure. Though Edward was ſenſible of the partiality of the Pope to Philip, and the conſequent diſpoſal of Vannes, he gladly ſubſcribed terms which ſaved his honour, extricated him from his immediate diſtreſs, and diſmiſſed him to meditate new hoſtilities.

Philip

Philip had engaged with invariable reluctance in a war from which he had ſo much to apprehend: The enterpriſes of his rival had indeed been conſtantly baffled; but his own finances were exhauſted in the fruitleſs contention; and he had ſacrificed at Vannes the immediate advantages he had obtained, to a truce which he flattered himſelf might be converted into a ſolid peace. He was ſoon rouſed from this viſionary hope by the formidable preparations of his indefatigable rival. The pretence for war was the puniſhment of ſome nobles of Brittany, whom Edward aſſerted to be partizans of Mountfort, and whoſe execution he deemed an infraction of the treaty. While Philip ſtrengthened himſelf by a treaty with Humbert, the ſecond dauphin of the Viennois, and by the purchaſe of Montpellier from the king of Majorca, the Engliſh, under the command of the earl of Derby, had invaded Guienne, twice defeated a French army entruſted to the count of Liſle, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Monſegur, Monpeſat, Villefranche, Miremont, and Tonnins, with the fortreſſes of Damaſſen, Aiguillon, Angouleme, and Reole. A. D. 1344, 1345.

The exhauſted ſtate of the French treaſury rendered Philip for ſome time incapable of oppoſing the torrent; and the duty which he was reduced

reduced to lay upon ſalt, had almoſt provoked his people into open rebellion: But as ſoon as theſe diſcontents were aſſuaged, an army was haſtily levied of one hundred thouſand men. The confidence of the ſoldiers in their ſuperior numbers was augmented by the preſence of the dukes of Normandy and Burgundy; the earl of Derby was compelled to act upon the defenſive; Angouleme was taken after a vigorous reſiſtance; and the ſon of Philip was recalled from the blockade of Aiguillon by the fatal raſhneſs of his father, and a defeat that ſeemed to expoſe the French monarchy to immediate deſtruction.

A. D. 1346. To defend Guienne, and to ſuccour the earl of Derby, Edward had collected at Southampton a fleet of near a thouſand ſail, and an army of thirty thouſand men; he embarked on board it, with his ſon the prince of Wales, then only fifteen years of age, and the flower of his nobility; but his intentions were baffled by the obſtinacy of the winds; and he was prevailed on to change the object of his deſtination by Geoffrey D' Harcourt, an exiled noble of Normandy, who ſupplied in the councils of the king the loſs of Robert of Artois. Harcourt ſtrongly enforced the advantages that would attend the invaſion of Normandy; deſtitute

titute of any military force, its fertile fields and opulent towns preſented a ready harveſt and rich plunder to the firſt invader; while its vicinity to the capital of France rendered every event of importance in thoſe quarters. His arguments were deciſive; and Edward ordering his fleet to ſteer for the Norman coaſt, ſafely landed his forces at La Hogue.

Philip received with aſtoniſhment and terror the intelligence of the unexpected invaſion of his rival; it was immediately followed by the melancholy tidings that the counts of Eu and Tancarville, who had endeavoured to oppoſe him, were defeated and taken priſoners; that the rich town of Caen was ſurpriſed and plundered; and that the devaſtations of the Engliſh were extended with licentious fury along the peaceable banks of the Seine. While the king of France aſſembled his forces, he had the mortification to behold his capital inſulted, and his palace of St. Germains conſumed, by the incurſions and flames of his enemies; but if the firſt moments were abandoned to deſpair, the ſucceſſive hours were cheered by the proſpect of victory, and the hope of revenge: The nobility of France crowded to the ſtandard of their ſovereign; three royal leaders, the king of Bohemia, the king of the Romans, and the king of Majorca, marched under

der his banners; and an hoſt of one hundred and twenty thouſand men promiſed to chaſtiſe the temerity, and overwhelm the martial train of Edward. That prince, diſappointed in his intentions of paſſing the Seine, pointed his march towards the Somme; but the ſame obſtacles preſented themſelves again; the bridges on that river were either broken down or ſtrongly guarded; a numerous detachment was ſtationed on the oppoſite banks; and the hoſt of Philip already preſſed upon his rear. The promiſe of liberal reward induced at laſt a peaſant, whoſe name of Gobin Agace hiſtory has preſerved from oblivion, to betray the intereſts of his country, and to inform Edward of a ford below Abbeville. At the head of his troops the king entered the river, drove the enemy from their ſtation, and purſued them over the plain; while Philip arrived juſt in time to endure the mortification of beholding his adverſary's rear-guard croſs the Somme, and his own troops prevented by the returning tide from continuing the purſuit.

The king of France immediately took his route over the bridge of Abbeville, and burning with reſentment, beheld his enemy ſtrongly poſted near the memorable village of Crecy: His moſt experienced officers adviſed him to defer

fer the combat till the enſuing day, when his troops would have recovered from their fatigue; but although Philip aſſented to this counſel, it was no longer in his power to carry it into execution. His progreſs from Abbeville ſeemed rather the tumultuous purſuit of a flying foe, than a well-conducted march to encounter a formidable enemy; one diviſion preſſed upon another, and the foremoſt ranks had already arrived in the preſence of the Engliſh. The firſt line conſiſted of fifteen thouſand Genoeſe, armed with croſs-bows; but a little before the engagement, a thunder ſhower had relaxed the ſtrings of theſe weapons, while the Engliſh archers, who maintained on that day the fame they had before acquired, drew their bows from their caſes, and poured a ſhower of arrows on their defenceleſs opponents. The confuſion of the Genoeſe was increaſed by the furious charge of Edward prince of Wales; and the cavalry of France in vain endeavoured to check the ardour and deſtructive valour of that martial prince. The numbers of the French long ſupplied the want of order and diſcipline; but at length the route was univerſal; nor could the battle be reſtored even by the example of Philip himſelf: One horſe had already been killed under him; and as he mounted another, to charge again his enemies, the

reins

reins of his bridle were ſeized by John of Hanault, and the monarch was reluctantly conveyed off the field of battle.

On the diſaſtrous plains of Crecy periſhed twelve hundred French knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen, four thouſand men at arms, and thirty thouſand of the common ſoldiers. Among the ſlain were the kings of Bohemia and Majorca; the former, blind from age, guided by two gentlemen, who faſtened the reins of his horſe to their's, ruſhed into the thickeſt of the ſlaughter, and there gallantly expired fighting; his motto, with theſe German words, *Ich dien, I ſerve*, was adopted by the Prince of Wales, and has been preſerved by his ſucceſſors. The triumph of the victors was ſcarce alloyed by any loſs; and only three knights, with one eſquire, and very few of inferior note, are reported to have periſhed on the ſide of the Engliſh.

A. D. 1346. In a few days after the battle of Crecy, Edward, with his victorious army, formed the ſiege of Calais; and Philip recalled from Guienne the duke of Normandy, to join the ſhattered remains of his forces. In Brittany the arms of France had been equally unfortunate, and Charles of Blois was defeated and taken priſoner by the counteſs of Mountfort; yet his conſort revived the ſpirit of his friends

friends by her example; and Brittany, in ſucceſſive martial enterpriſes, acknowledged and admired the valour of theſe hoſtile and heroic dames. Some conſolation might be derived from the ſtate of Flanders; the fickle Flemings recalled their count, and murdered James D'Arteville, who had attempted to transfer the ſovereignty of that country to the prince of Wales; but the danger of Calais ſtill loudly called for the ſuccour of Philip; with an hoſt, which has been computed at two hundred thouſand men, he advanced towards the devoted city; but he found Edward ſo ſurrounded with moraſſes, and ſo ſecured by entrenchments, that any attempt was deemed impracticable; and Philip was compelled with a ſigh of deſpair, to reſign his faithful ſubjects to their impending fate.

The defence of Calais had been entruſted to the courage and conſtancy of John of Vienne, a knight of Burgundy, whoſe vigilance and bravery juſtified the important appointment, and for near a year had repulſed the aſſaults, and baffled the ſtratagems of Edward. But the inhabitants were reduced to the laſt extremity by famine and fatigue; and the king of England would only conſent to ſuſpend the general deſtruction, on condition that ſix of the moſt conſiderable of the citizens ſhould atone A. D. 1347.

for the obſtinacy of the reſt, by ſubmitting their lives to his diſpoſal, and preſenting the keys of their city with ropes about their necks. While the wretched people gazed on each other, loſt in deſpair, Euſtace de St. Pierre, (may his name be immortal!) offered to encounter death for the ſafety of his friends and companions. The generous flame of enthuſiaſm was ſoon communicated, and five more intreated to ſhare the glory and danger; they appeared erect and undaunted before the haughty victor; but Edward was diſſuaded from ſullying his fame by the inhuman ſacrifice; and at the interceſſion of his queen Philippa, who was juſt returned from vanquiſhing and leading in chains David Bruce, the king of Scotland, he diſmiſſed theſe gallant and almoſt diſappointed burghers.

A. D. 1348, 1350. In every ſtage of the war Philip had conſtantly expreſſed his wiſh for peace; his defeat at Crecy rendered him ſtill more deſirous to reſtore tranquillity to his country; while Edward, amidſt his triumphs, was unable any longer to ſupport the expence of victory. Under theſe circumſtances, the mediation of the court of Rome was readily accepted; and a truce was concluded between the rival monarchs for three years. In France the ravages of war had been followed by the meagre foot-ſteps of famine, and the peſtilential breath of contagious diſeaſe.

diſeaſe. An attempt which had been made on Calais was therefore ſtrenuouſly diſavowed by Philip; and as it had proved unſucceſsful, the diſavowal was accepted by Edward. But the king of France received at this period a rich compenſation for the loſſes he had ſuſtained in war, by the acquiſition of Dauphiny, which has ever ſince afforded the title of dauphin to the eldeſt ſon of the crown. Humbert, the prince of that country, diſappointed in his hopes of marrying Joan, daughter of the duke of Bourbon, reſigned his territories to Charles, the grandſon of Philip, on whom that lady had beſtowed her hand, and retired into the order of St. Dominic. The king himſelf, at this time a widower, ſoon after eſpouſed Blanch, the daughter of Philip, count of Evreux, and Jane, queen of Navarre; the beauty of this princeſs had diverted him from his firſt intention of demanding her for his ſon, the duke of Normandy, who united himſelf with the counteſs of Bologne: But the ſatisfaction which theſe marriages afforded was in leſs than a year interrupted by the death of the king, who expired in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and the twenty-third year of a reign which but ill juſtified his ſurname of Fortunate.

Chapter the Thirteenth.

JOHN, SURNAMED THE FORTUNATE, KING OF FRANCE.—CHARACTER OF CHARLES, KING OF NAVARRE.—WAR WITH ENGLAND.—BATTLE OF POICTIERS.—DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY OF JOHN.—REGENCY OF THE DAUPHIN.—DISORDERS IN FRANCE.—PEACE WITH ENGLAND.—JOHN RESTORED TO FREEDOM, AFTERWARDS RETURNS TO ENGLAND, AND DIES THERE.

A. D. 1350, 1351. JOHN, duke of Normandy, ſucceeded to the throne of France on the death of his father; and the enviable ſurname of *Good*, was the reward of his piety, his ſincerity, and integrity; but while his ſubjects contemplated with pleaſure theſe virtues, they could not be blind to the defects by which they were alloyed: He poſſeſſed not that maſterly prudence and foreſight which the difficult ſituation of his kingdom required; and he ſeemed to inherit from Philip, that impetuoſity which had already proved ſo fatal to France. He had ſcarce eſtabliſhed his authority, before the nobility were diſguſted by

by an act of unſeaſonable ſeverity: Robert de Brienne, count of Eu and of Guiſnes, had been taken priſoner by the king of England at Caen; under pretence of negociating his ranſom, he paſſed ſeveral times between France and England; but John ſuſpected him of more dangerous practices; and he was accuſed of an intention to reſign the important diſtrict of Guiſnes to Edward. By the command of his ſovereign he was ſuddenly arreſted, and beheaded, without even the form of trial: In his laſt moments he was ſaid to have acknowledged his treaſonable deſigns; but the confeſſion has ever been doubted by contemporary hiſtorians; and the execution has fixed an indelible blot on the memory of John. The conſtable's ſword was delivered into the hands of Charles de le Cerda; but his fate was equally unfortunate with that of his predeceſſor; and he had ſcarce attained the enviable dignity, before he fell the victim of aſſaſſination.

The author of this atrocious deed was Charles, king of Navarre, to whom the epithet of *Wicked* has been with juſtice affixed. Deſcended from males of the blood-royal of France, and the grandſon, by his daughter, of Lewis the Boiſterous, he had eſpouſed Joanna, the daughter of John: But theſe ties, which

ought to have induced him to ſupport, only animated his efforts to overthrow, the throne; his perſonal qualities were the admiration of France and Navarre; he was courteous, affable, enterpriſing, and eloquent; inſinuating in his addreſs, and enterpriſing in his deſigns: But reverſe the portrait, and he was faithleſs, revengeful, and malicious; inſatiate of power, and unreſtrained by principle. He had demanded the county of Angouleme, but the king had beſtowed it on Charles de le Cerda, and he for ever deſtroyed his own honour t. avenge himſelf on his competitor. Yet ſo weak was the crown, that the king of Navarre braved with impunity the royal indignation which he had provoked; nor would he ſubmit to the vain ceremony of aſking pardon for the offence, till he had farther inſulted the king of France, by demanding and receiving the ſecond ſon of John as a hoſtage for his ſecurity.

A. D. 1352, 1354. Charles had not deigned to conceal his pretenſions in right of his mother to the crown of France; but he urged with vehemence his more immediate claim to the counties of Champagne and Brie. To obviate any further diſpute, John beſtowed the dutchy of Normandy on his eldeſt ſon, Charles, who now bore the title of dauphin, and commanded him to

to ſeize the eſtates of the king of Navarre: The meaſure was preſently attended by the appearance of that monarch at Paris; and John was glad to appeaſe his turbulent murmurs, at the expence of one hundred thouſand crowns.

The truce between the kingdoms of France and England had been but ill obſerved on both ſides; the French had poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſea-port of St. Jean d'Angeli; and the Engliſh had ſurpriſed Guiſnes: Every thing ſeemed to threaten a revival of former hoſtilities; the houſes of Mountfort and Blois ſtill diſplayed in arms their unabated enmity; while the ambition of Edward was fanned by the factious counſels of Geoffrey d' Harcourt, who no longer remembered the pardon he had received from Philip; and by the daring intrigues of the king of Navarre: Even the dauphin was allured by the arts of that prince, to join the formidable confederacy, and to conſpire againſt his father. But John was informed of their ſecret deſigns; he reclaimed his ſon by pointing out to him the danger and imprudence of theſe connexions; and made uſe of his penitence to draw the king of Navarre and his adherents into a ſnare. At an entertainment at Rouen, theſe were arreſted; the former was ſent priſoner to Chateau Gaillard; and ſeveral of the moſt obnoxious of the latter

were immediately executed. Yet the ſeverity of the king, and the treachery of the dauphin, inſtead of deterring the other conſpirators, determined them inſtantly to erect the ſtandard of rebellion. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles, and Geoffrey d' Harcourt, armed the towns and caſtles which they occupied in Normandy, and ſolicited in their diſtreſs the ſuccour of England.

A. D. 1355. To theſe ſolicitations the aſpiring hopes of Edward never ſuffered him to be indifferent; on the expiration of the truce the prince of Wales had ſailed with a fleet into the Garonne, ravaged the adjacent country, delivered to the flames the towns and villages of Languedoc, and retired with his ſpoil into the county of Guienne; while Edward himſelf from Calais had extended his devaſtations as far as St. Omer. The misfortunes of his father Philip were ſtill freſh in the mind of John; and on this occaſion he diſplayed a prudence which it would have been happy for his country had he continued to exert: He reſtrained the conſtable of Bourbon, though at the head of a ſuperior army, from hazarding an engagement with the prince of Wales; while he himſelf, with the flower of his forces, purſued the retreating footſteps of the king of England from St. Omer to Heſdin; at this

this place John defied his rival to a pitched battle; but Edward, ſcarce noticing the bravado, continued his march to Calais, and embarked for England.

The expences of the war had exhauſted the coffers of the king of France; and in an aſſembly of the ſtates at Paris, he explained the diſtreſſed ſituation of his finances, and implored their aſſiſtance for the defence of the kingdom. The ſtates-general conſented to maintain, during the continuance of the war, thirty thouſand men; to revive the duty on ſalt, which had been aboliſhed on the death of Philip; and added a variety of other impoſts, to ſupply the exigencies of government; but with the ſpirit of freemen, and a prudent jealouſy of the crown, they appointed a committee of their own members to take care that the money thus levied was entirely appropriated to the public ſervice.

The ſatisfaction which John might receive from theſe important ſupplies, and from the concurrence of his people, was interrupted by the intrigues of the king of Navarre, which have been already noticed, and by the open revolt of Geoffrey d' Harcourt in Normandy: His nephew, the count of Harcourt, had been beheaded, with ſeveral others, when the king of Navarre was betrayed by the dauphin. A. D. 1356.

Geoffrey

Geoffrey himſelf ſoon after fell in an unſucceſsful ſkirmiſh; but theſe gleams of proſperity were over-caſt by the intelligence that the prince of Wales had marched from Bourdeaux with an army of twelve thouſand men, and after ravaging the Agenois, Quercy, and the Limouſin, had entered the province of Berry. Philip immediately penetrating into the deſign of that prince, to join the male-contents in Normandy, where the earl of Lancaſter acted with an Engliſh army, cauſed the bridges of the Loire to be broken down, and the paſſes to be carefully guarded. With an army of ſixty thouſand men, he prepared to ſurround and puniſh the raſh invaders; at Maupertius, about two leagues from Poictiers, he deſcried his enemy: The precipitate courage of Philip and his nobility would not ſuffer them to avail themſelves of their numbers, which might have intercepted the proviſions of the Engliſh, and compelled them to ſurrender without ſtriking a blow. But when determined on battle, they were fatally prevailed on to delay the ſignal for attack by the interpoſition of the cardinal of Perigord; the pious prelate having heard of the approach of the two armies, had haſtened to prevent, by his mediation, the effuſion of chriſtian blood: But his efforts were ineffectual; Edward indeed offered to purchaſe a retreat by ceding

ceding all the conqueſts which he had made during this and the former campaign; and ſtipulating not to bear arms againſt France during the courſe of ſeven years: But John inſiſted that the prince of Wales himſelf, with an hundred of his attendants, ſhould yield themſelves his priſoners; a prize which he hoped the king of England would conſent to ranſom by the reſtitution of Calais.

The language of negociation was no longer heard; but France had reaſon to lament the officious interpoſiton of the cardinal of Perigord; and Edward had diligently employed the ſhort interval to fortify his poſt. The firſt line of the French was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the ſecond, by the dauphin, attended by his two younger brothers; and the third, by the king himſelf, who was accompanied by Philip, his fourth ſon, then only fourteen years of age. The French were ſeparated from the Engliſh by a narrow lane, and the mareſchals Andrehen and Clermont were ordered to open this paſs with a ſelect detachment; but the Engliſh had lined the hedges with archers; numbers of the French fell before they reached the plain; and the ſurvivors were charged and routed by the prince of Wales. At this inſtant, the Captal de Buche, who had been ordered by Edward by a circuitous

circuitous route, to attack the flank of the French, unexpectedly fell, with ſix hundred choſen ſoldiers, on the line commanded by the dauphin. The nobles to whom the care of that prince had been entruſted, hurried him from the field of battle; his troops followed their example; the duke of Orleans attacked at once in front and rear, joined the flight; and two lines of the French were in a ſhort time thus totally routed and diſperſed. A third ſtill remained, commanded by the king himſelf; and the perſonal valour of John was not wanting to retrieve the error into which his raſhneſs had betrayed him. The conflict was long, fierce, and bloody; but the ardour of the Engliſh was irreſiſtible, and Edward himſelf on that day appeared invincible. Deſerted at length on every ſide, ſpent with fatigue, and overwhelmed by numbers, the king of France ſtill continued to defend himſelf, repeatedly exclaiming, "Where "is my couſin, the prince of Wales?" Informed that Edward was at a diſtance, he threw down his gauntlet, and yielded himſelf to Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras.

John was received by the victor with every mark of generous reſpect; and during a repaſt which was immediately prepared, the prince of Wales ſerved at the royal captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue. The defeat of Poictiers

tiers induced France to ſolicit a truce; and Edward, ſenſible that his forces were too weak to improve his advantage, and deſirous of ſafely conveying his royal priſoner to England, aſſented to the propoſal. The reception of John at the court of London was a repetition of the ſame reſpectful conduct that he had already experienced, and his calamity was alleviated by the conſtant exertion of courteous humanity.

But the defeat of Poictiers had inflicted a wound on the proſperity of France, which was ſtill further inflamed by the inteſtine commotions of that country. In the abſence and captivity of the king, the dauphin had aſſumed the reins of government; but his inexperienced youth expoſed his authority to inſult; and the aſſembly of the ſtates, which he ſummoned, embraced the opportunity, amidſt the general confuſion, to limit the power of their prince, to impeach the former miſconduct of his miniſters, and to demand the liberty of the king of Navarre. Marcel, a factious partizan of that monarch's, provoſt of the merchants, and firſt magiſtrate of Paris, filled by his intrigues that city with confuſion; at his inſtigation a lawleſs bravo had murdered the treaſurer of the crown; at the command of the dauphin, the mareſchals Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, dragged A. D. 1357.

ged the aſſaſſin from the ſanctuary of the altar, and immediately executed him; but the biſhop of Paris exclaimed againſt this invaſion of the privileges of the church, and Marcel avenged the fate of his adherent; the two mareſchals were butchered in the preſence of the dauphin; his clothes were even ſtained with their blood; and when Charles aſked with ſome emotion if he was to be involved in the ſame deſtruction, the inſolence of Marcel affected to provide for his ſecurity by placing on his head a blue hood, the badge of the partizans of Navarre: That monarch had eſcaped from his priſon to increaſe the public diſorders; and Charles was reduced to cultivate towards him an appearance of regard, though he ſtrongly ſuſpected him of having adminiſtered to him a doſe of poiſon, the immediate effects of which he ſurmounted by the goodneſs of his conſtitution.

The chiefs of the ſedition had flattered themſelves with the hope of changing the government, of veſting the power in the commons, and leaving the king an empty title; but this wild ſcheme, which was favourably received in Paris, was rejected by the other great cities; the dauphin was recognized by the ſtates-general as regent, and the inhabitants of Picardy and Champagne armed in his cauſe.

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The miſery of France was heightened by a new and unexpected evil: The peaſants, formerly oppreſſed, and now unprotected by their maſters, felt the pang of want ſharpened by the deriſion of the nobles. The phraſe of *Jacque bon Homme* had been applied to them by the contempt of their ſuperiors, and they now roſe in myriads to avenge their wrongs and inſults; the caſtles of the gentry were conſumed with fire, or levelled to the ground; their wives and daughters were raviſhed or murdered; and the ſavage fury of the rude barbarians beheld with pleaſure their former lords expire under the moſt exquiſite torments. The nobles at length aſſembled for their mutual defence: The duke of Orleans cut off ten thouſand in the neighbourhood of Paris; the king of Navarre put to the ſword twelve thouſand, with their principal leader, William Caillet; nine thouſand of them had aſſaulted in Meaux the conſort of the dauphin, and three other ladies of quality; but in an age of chivalry, the defence of the fair was the chief glory of the brave; the Captal of Buche, though in the ſervice of Edward, flew to the protection of theſe trembling dames: His gallantry was ſucceſsful; the peaſants were routed with cruel ſlaughter; and amidſt theſe wild ravages of war, we are

pleaſed

pleaſed to diſcern the veſtiges of more tender emotions.

Marcel, the ſeditious provoſt, had periſhed in a tumult of his own exciting; and the authority of the dauphin was ſupported by the moſt prudent and moſt virtuous of the French. By declaring that he would never acknowledge the houſe of Valois, the king of Navarre had allured to his ſtandard the independent bodies of Norman and Engliſh troops, which on the truce had been left to ſeek their own ſubſiſtence; with theſe he blockaded the dauphin in Paris; but when the hopes of Charles were almoſt extinguiſhed, he was preſerved by an unexpected peace with his rival on equal and moderate terms. Although this meaſure has generally been aſcribed to the natural levity of the king of Navarre, yet the policy of that prince ſoon pointed out to him the improbability of his obtaining an effectual ſupport from England; his own pretenſions to the crown claſhed with thoſe of Edward; and he was ſenſible in any other expectations he ſhould find it more difficult to negociate with the haughty victor, than with his own kinſman, humbled by inceſſant misfortunes.

A. D. 1358. John, to regain his freedom, had ſubſcribed a peace which reſtored to Edward all the provinces that had been poſſeſſed by

by Henry the Second and his two ſons, and annexed them for ever to England without the obligation of homage or fealty. But theſe terms, which would have diſmembered for ever his kingdom, were rejected by the dauphin and the ſtates-general. The truce which had been concluded for two years was now expired; and Edward caſt anchor before Calais, with a fleet of eleven hundred ſail; ſoon augmented his army to one hundred thouſand men; and again aſſumed the title of king of France.

The dauphin, unable to withſtand his enemy in the field, contented himſelf with putting the moſt conſiderable towns in a poſture of defence, choſe his ſtation at Paris; and allowed the Engliſh to extend their ravages over the open country: They had already penetrated through Picardy into Champagne; and Edward, deſirous of being crowned at Rheims, where that ceremony is uſually performed, laid ſiege to the city. But the walls of Rheims were defended by the valour of the inhabitants, and the patriotic exhortations of the archbiſhop, John de Craon: After waſting his ſtrength in the ineffectual enterpriſe during ſeven weeks, the king was obliged to retire. From Champagne, which was already deſolated, he directed his march into Burgundy, and pillaged Tonerre, A. D. 1359, 1360.

Gaillon, and Avalon; but the duke of Burgundy redeemed his country from the impending ruin by the payment of one hundred thouſand marks; a ſimilar compoſition preſerved Nivernois; and the king of England, after waſting, in a long and deſtructive march, that country, the ſovereignty of which he claimed, appeared at the gates of Paris: The prudence of the dauphin had provided that city with magazines which defied the attacks of famine; it was equally ſecure by the number of its inhabitants from any enterpriſe in arms; and Charles, while he applauded his own policy, might ſafely deride the vain bravadoes of Edward, who repeatedly defied him to battle.

A. D. 1360. A dreadful tempeſt, to which the army of Edward was expoſed in the fields round Chartres, is ſuppoſed to have inclined the mind of that monarch towards peace: But in the reſolutions of the king of England we are to look for motives more characteriſtick than thoſe of ſuperſtition. All his victories had not procured a ſingle partizan to his claim of ſucceſſion; the king of Navarre was his moſt dangerous rival; and the caution of the dauphin precluded him from the hopes of the ſame advantages as he had obtained in the fields of Crecy and Poictiers. Under theſe circumſtances, conferences were opened between the French and Engliſh

Engliſh commiſſioners at Bretigny in the Chartraine, and the peace was at laſt concluded on the following conditions: That king John, as his ranſom, ſhould pay at different periods three millions of crowns of gold; that Edward ſhould renounce all claim to the crown of France, and the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou; and ſhould receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Saintonge, l'Agenois, Perigort, the Limouſin, Quercy, Rovergue, l'Angoumois; with Calais, Guiſne, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other ſide of France. That theſe provinces, as well as that of Guienne, ſhould be ceded to the crown of England free from fealty or homage; that the king of Navarre ſhould be reſtored to his honours and eſtates; that Edward and John ſhould mutually renounce their confederacy with the Flemings and Scots; that the houſes of Blois and Mountfort ſhould ſubmit their pretenſions to the arbitration of the two kings; and that forty hoſtages ſhould be ſent to England as a pledge for the faithful execution of theſe conditions; among theſe were two ſons of the French king, John and Lewis; his brother, Philip, duke of Orleans, and many of the principal nobility of France.

The concluſion of the peace enabled John, after a captivity of four years, A. D. 1360, 1363.

to reviſit his capital; but the acclamations of his ſubjects muſt have only awakened a more poignant anguiſh at the calamities which he beheld them endure through his imprudence: Large bands of military adventurers, who had followed the ſtandard of Edward, refuſed to lay down their arms, and perſevered in a life of military rapine; they aſſociated themſelves under the name of Companions, and defeated the conſtable, James of Bourbon, a prince of the blood, who commanded an army of twelve thouſand men. The rage of men was attended by that of heaven; and in Paris alone thirty thouſand perſons were in one year the victims of a peſtilential diſorder. Amidſt the miſeries of his people, the mind of the king was oppreſſed by the immenſe ranſom which he had agreed to pay for his freedom; on Galeas, the ſon of John Viſconti, duke of Milan, he beſtowed the hand of his daughter; and received from his new ſon-in-law the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand crowns. The Jews, who had been baniſhed France, were, by ſimilar arguments, permitted to return for the term of twenty years; but the ſubjects of John beheld with equal diſguſt the ſordid barter of a princeſs whom they reſpected, and the reſtoration of a people whom they deſpiſed. Some ſatisfaction might ariſe to John on the important acqui-

acquiſition of Burgundy, which, on the death of Philip, the late duke, he claimed and wreſted from the feeble attempts of the king of Navarre; but he again imprudently diſmembered it from the crown, by his partiality to his fourth and favourite ſon, Philip, whom he created duke of Burgundy, and firſt peer of France; and who, by his marriage with the widow of his predeceſſor, afterwards attained the counties of Flanders and Artois, and laid the foundation of the future greatneſs of his houſe.

To relieve the anxiety of his mind, and confer with pope Innocent the Sixth, whoſe ſteady friendſhip he had experienced, John undertook a journey to Avignon. But this interview with the Roman pontiff ſerved only more ſtrongly to diſplay the fatal impetuoſity which marks his character. While the wounds of his country were ſtill freſh, while his people had yet ſcarce taſted the comforts of peace, he already contemplated new and diſtant wars; the barren laurels of Paleſtine were the objects of his reſtleſs ambition; and at the perſuaſion of Innocent, he aſſumed the croſs, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and intreaties of his nobility.

But the return of John to France was attended by new diſappointments and mortifications; his ſubjects, and even the A. D. 1364.

dauphin, loudly accuſed the ignominious terms which he had ſubſcribed. His ſon, Lewis, count of Anjou, impatient of confinement, had eſcaped from Edward, whoſe hoſtage he was, and refuſed to return at the command of his father: The king himſelf was induced, by the numerous embarraſſments which on every ſide preſented themſelves, to declare his intention of delivering himſelf again into the power of Edward. The diſſuaſions of his council, who adviſed him to elude a treaty which he could not conſiſtent with policy fulfil, were ineffectual; and his anſwer ought to be impreſſed on the mind of every ſovereign, That though good faith were baniſhed from the reſt of the earth, ſhe ought ſtill to retain her habitation in the breaſt of princes! He therefore croſſed the ſeas; according to the ſuperſtition of the times, offered a valuable jewel at the ſhrine of Thomas a Becket; and was received at London with every mark of honourable reſpect. But it does not appear that his preſence was in any ſhape conducive to his intereſt; Edward received with cold diſapprobation his propoſal to join his intended expediton to the Holy Land; and John himſelf was ſoon recalled from his viſionary hopes of eaſtern victories by the ſlow but certain progreſs of diſeaſe. A reign of inceſſant calamity, which had been impatiently endured by his ſubjects

jects for near fourteen years, was at length terminated in his lodgings in the Savoy, and in the capital of his enemy: He breathed his laſt in the fifty-ſixth year of his age; his funeral was celebrated with ſplendid ſolemnity by the Engliſh, and honoured by the attendance of his rival, Edward. The corpſe was afterwards conveyed to France, and interred with thoſe of his predeceſſors in the abbey of St. Denis.

Chapter the Fourteenth.

ACCESSION OF THE DAUPHIN, CHARLES THE FIFTH, TO THE THRONE OF FRANCE.—THE COUNT OF MOUNTFORT ACQUIRES THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY.—EXPEDITION OF DU GUESCLIN.—PETER THE *CRUEL*, KING OF CASTILE, DETHRONED BY THE ARMS OF DU GUESCLIN, RESTORED BY THE PRINCE OF WALES.—AGAIN DEFEATED AND PUT TO DEATH BY HENRY OF TRANSTAMARE.—WAR BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF CHARLES THE FIFTH.

CHARLES the Fifth, who has already been frequently mentioned as dauphin and regent, ſucceeded to the throne of France; and by his prudence acquired and retained the honourable diſtinction of *Wiſe*. The king of Navarre, with his uſual inſtability, had reſumed his former enmity to that prince, and was now in arms in Normandy: The command of his forces was entruſted to the valour and capacity

A. D. 1364.

city of the Captal of Buche, to whom Charles oppoſed Bertrand du Gueſclin, a gentleman of Brittany, and one of the moſt accompliſhed characters of the age. In the battle of Chocherel, the Captal was defeated, and taken priſoner by the ſuperior genius of his antagoniſt; and du Gueſclin himſelf ſoon experienced the ſame fate in Brittany, where the war was renewed between the families of Mountfort and Blois: In an action at Auray, Charles of Blois was killed, at the ſame time that du Gueſclin fell into the hands of the victors; but the prudence and moderation of Charles prevented this event from being attended with any fatal conſequences; he admitted the claim of Mountfort, though a zealous partizan of England, to the duchy, and received the proffered homage for his dominions; and while he thus reconciled an ancient enemy, he rewarded du Gueſclin, who, in conſequence of the treaty had regained his freedom, with the rank of marſhal of Normandy.

By a ſimilar liberality, the king had allured to his ſervice Oliver de Cliſſon, and other Bretons of military reputation; his diſcernment had long diſcovered, and his magnanimity induced him to eſteem the talents of the Captal of Buche, who ſhone as a general and a ſtateſman; he releaſed him without ranſom, and preſented him with the county

county of Nemours. But the Captal, perceiving his new engagements diſagreeable to the prince of Wales, determined to adhere to his former maſter, and reſtored to Charles his royal preſent. The generoſity of Charles was imitated by his uncle, Philip, duke of Orleans; the diſtreſs of the king compelled him to think of reſuming the grants of his predeceſſor; of theſe the duke of Orleans poſſeſſed the moſt conſiderable; but Philip declared, although he conſidered his title as good, yet, convinced of the rectitude of the king's intentions, he reſigned them into his hands, and would be content with whatever he ſhould think proper to aſſign him. The king accepted indeed the reſignation, but unwilling to be vanquiſhed in this generous conteſt, he alone accepted it, to confirm the grants more ſtrongly.

A. D. 1365. But even the prudence of Charles was only in the courſe of revolving years, able to remedy the calamities in which the raſhneſs of John had involved his country: The military adventurers deſcribed by the appellation of Companions, ſtill ravaged France; they regarded with contempt the cenſures of the church; and they even rejected the authority of the king of England, who enraged at their inſolence, offered to croſs the ſeas to chaſtiſe them. But Charles was not deſirous of the preſence of ſo formidable a rival;

a rival; and he was content with coolly declining the propoſal, and adding, that he himſelf had conceived a project which would deliver him from theſe dangerous inmates.

The ſtorm which the king of France was not capable of reſiſting by force, he diverted by his policy, to ſpend its fury in a different quarter. Peter, king of Caſtile, was juſtly ſtigmatized by the epithet of *Cruel*; his ſubjects, his nobles, and at laſt his wife, were the victims of his ferocious diſpoſition. The latter, Blanch de Bourbon, was ſiſter to the queen of France; and he heſitated not, after throwing her into priſon, to put an end to her life by poiſon, that he might eſpouſe his miſtreſs, Mary de Padilla.

Henry, count of Tranſtamare, his natural brother, reſolved to ſeek that ſecurity in arms which he was hopeleſs of from ſubmiſſion: He ſought refuge in France; and with the permiſſion of Charles, and by the advice of du Gueſclin, determined to employ the daring bands of Companions in the deſtruction of the tyrant. The abilities of du Gueſclin were the means of ſecuring theſe adventurers; he remonſtrated to the leaders (by many of whom he was already beloved as the former aſſociate of their military toils) on the ignominy of their life, and the diſhonourable ſubſiſtence which they drew from A. D. 1366, 1367.

from plunder and rapine. To the plea of neceſſity he oppoſed an honourable expedition, which promiſed equal advantages with their preſent deſultory incurſions. The chiefs of the Companions conſented to inliſt under his ſtandard, ſo high was their confidence in his honour, though ignorant of the enterpriſe he meditated, with the ſingle ſtipulation, that they ſhould not be led againſt the prince of Wales. The ſilent acquieſcence at leaſt, if not the open concurrence, of Edward was obtained; and Charles contributed what little he could ſpare from his ſlender coffers, to complete and haſten the preparations.

Du Gueſclin joined the martial band at Chalons, on the Soane; and firſt conducted them to Avignon, the reſidence of the Roman pontiff. From Innocent the Sixth he demanded an abſolution for his ſoldiers, and the ſum of two hundred thouſand livres. The firſt was inſtantly granted; but the ſecond requeſt was received with heſitation. When complied with, the pious ſucceſſor of St. Peter extorted the money from the inhabitants of Avignon: But the generous du Gueſclin refuſed to trample on the oppreſſed; "It is not my purpoſe," cried the humane warrior, "to injure thoſe innocent people; the pope "and his cardinals themſelves can well ſpare me "that ſum from their own coffers. This money, "I in-

"I inſiſt, muſt be reſtored to the owners; and "ſhould they be defrauded of it, I ſhall myſelf "return from the other ſide of the Pyrenees, and "oblige you to make them reſtitution." The pope ſubmitted to the peremptory language of du Gueſclin, and the ſucceſs of his firſt negociation was rivalled by that of his arms.

The inhabitants of Caſtile joined the ſtandard of Henry of Tranſtamare; and the tyrant, juſtly odious and generally deſerted, fled from the indignation of his ſubjects, and ſought refuge in Guienne. The ſentiments of the prince of Wales were already changed; he regarded the fallen monarch with compaſſion, and dreaded the powerful confederate that France might acquire in the new king of Caſtile. He determined to reſtore Peter, and after levying, with incredible diligence, a numerous army, he recalled the Companions from the ſupport of Henry. Moſt of theſe obeyed a voice which they were accuſtomed to reverence; yet Henry, beloved by his new ſubjects, and reinforced by the king of Arragon, beheld himſelf at the head of one hundred thouſand men. Du Gueſclin, and the moſt experienced of the generals, endeavoured to diſſuade him from hazarding an action with Edward, whoſe former ſucceſs had inſpired his troops with confidence and his enemies with terror. But Henry truſted to his numbers,

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which trebled thoſe of his adverſary; and he ventured to encounter the Engliſh prince at Najara. The hoſt of Henry was routed, with the loſs of twenty thouſand men; du Gueſclin himſelf was taken priſoner; while only four knights and forty privates periſhed on the part of Edward.

Caſtile immediately ſubmitted to the victor, and Peter was once more ſeated on the throne. But the ſatisfaction which the prince of Wales experienced in the ſucceſs of this perilous enterpriſe was ſoon alloyed by the ingratitude of the tyrant, who refuſed the pay which he had ſtipulated to the Engliſh forces; while Edward returned to Guienne with his army diminiſhed, and his own conſtitution fatally impaired by the noxious climate.

But Charles was not deterred by the late reverſe of fortune which his ally had experienced, from hoping a more auſpicious event. The ferocious temper of Peter had been heightened by his former exile and his preſent proſperity; he conſidered and he treated his ſubjects as vanquiſhed rebels. That Henry of Tranſtamare might avail himſelf of the general diſcontent, the king of France furniſhed him with whatever ſums he could poſſibly ſpare, and at the ſame time he paid the ranſom of du Gueſclin. Some forces were privately levied in France; and the moment they entered

tered the territories of Caſtile, they were ſwelled to a hoſt by the indignation of the natives. Henry found himſelf again on the throne which he had ſo lately quitted; his juſtice, or his policy, extinguiſhed with life the unceaſing animoſity of Peter, whoſe claims ſtill ſurvived in his eldeſt daughter, the ſecond wife of the duke of Lancaſter, the younger brother of the prince of Wales.

But a more profitable harveſt ſoon preſented itſelf to the vigilance and induſtry of Charles. Edward, in his late expedition, had involved himſelf in debts, which compelled him to impoſe a new tax on his principality. A fickle people ſoon complained that their privileges were violated; their national hatred to the Engliſh, which had been aſſuaged by the amiable qualities of the prince of Wales, was revived; and their hopes and inclinations were directed to Charles, whoſe regulations and moderation had reſtored the credit of his kingdom, and attached to him the confidence of the neighbouring princes. The king of France, by the treaty of Bretigny, had renounced all claim of fealty over thoſe provinces which were appropriated to the crown of England: But treaties ſeldom bind princes longer than is conſiſtent with their intereſt. Charles affected to liſten to the complaints of the deputies of Guienne, and at length ſummoned A. D. 1368.

moned Edward to appear at his court at Paris, and juſtify his proceedings againſt his vaſſals. The anſwer of Edward was ſuggeſted by the memory of his former victories: "I will come indeed to Paris," replied the prince; "but it ſhall be at "the head of ſixty thouſand men."

A. D. 1369. 1372. The preparations of the king of France had been ſilently but diligently compleated; and while his adverſary yet doubted whether he would preſume to venture on open hoſtilities, he had already entered into the county of Ponthieu. The cities of Abbeville, St. Valori, Rue, and Crotoy, readily received him; and the whole country, in a ſhort time, acknowledged his authority. The ſouthern provinces were invaded by the dukes of Berri and Anjou, the brothers of Charles, guided by the experience of du Gueſclin, who was recalled from Spain, and had received the ſword of Conſtable. The progreſs of the French became every day more conſiderable; lord Chandos, an Engliſh general of the higheſt military reputation, fell in a ſkirmiſh; he was ſucceeded in command by the Captal of Buche, who was ſoon after taken priſoner in an unſucceſsful action. Sir Robert Knolles had indeed ravaged Champagne, and advanced with a body of Engliſh forces into the neighbourhood of Paris; but his progreſs was checked

checked by the preſence and ſkill of Du Gueſclin; while the king of Navarre, ſenſible of the prudence of Charles, reconciled himſelf, and concluded a treaty with his royal kinſman; and Henry of Caſtile repaid the friendſhip which had placed him on the throne, by the aid of a fleet, which defeated that of England, and intercepted the deſtined ſuccours, in ſight of the port of Rochelle.

The prince of Wales, debilitated by the rapid advances of diſeaſe, and unable to mount on horſeback, made only ſome ineffectual attempts to ſtem the torrent. After recovering Limoges, and chaſtiſing the levity or treachery of the inhabitants by the ſlaughter of great part of them, he returned feeble and depreſſed to England, and committed the war to the conduct of his generals. Poictiers, St. John de Angeli, Taillebourg, and Angouleme, the effects of the victory of Crecy, opened their gates to the conſtable of France; and Rochelle was reſtored to Charles by a ſtratagem of the mayor, who availed himſelf of the ignorance of the captain who commanded the Engliſh garriſon. The king of England had himſelf embarked with a gallant army to ſuccour the remnant of his forces in France, inveſted in Thouars, and which had engaged to ſurrender, unleſs relieved within a certain time; but the elements

themſelves warred in favour of Charles, and Edward was detained by contrary winds till the term which had been fixed had elapſed. With difficulty, in a tempeſtuous ſea, he regained the Engliſh coaſt, and abandoned the gallant companions of his former toils to their fate.

A. D. 1373. The duke of Brittany had, in a ſecond marriage, eſpouſed the daughter of the king of England, and amidſt this ſtorm of adverſity maintained inviolate his connexions with that crown. He was now ſummoned by the king of France to attend him as his vaſſal. With du Gueſlin and Oliver Cliſſon, Charles had already allured to his ſervice the Bretons whoſe abilities he had moſt reaſon to dread; and the duke, on this emergency, beheld himſelf deſtitute of generals or miniſters in whom he could confide. On one ſide, the conſtable; on the other, Oliver Cliſſon, invaded the country; and Mountfort, after diſtributing the Engliſh forces in the moſt important towns, retired to the court of Edward. The pride of the Engliſh monarch was wounded by the exile of his ſon-in-law; he enabled the duke to croſs the ſeas with an army of twenty-five thouſand men, commanded by his ſon, the duke of Lancaſter. That prince, impatient to rival the fame of his elder brother, traverſed the length of France, from Calais to Bourdeaux. But Charles was not

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to be provoked from the prudent ſyſtem which he had embraced by the inſults of an enemy, or the deſtruction of the country; and the duke of Lancaſter, continually haraſſed by flying parties, and the enmity of the inhabitants, without being able to compel the French to a deciſive action, or obtain any ſolid advantage, found his forces diminiſhed above one half before he reached the gates of Bourdeaux.

The Roman pontiff, Innocent the Sixth, ſtill offered his mediation to reconcile the contending monarchs; but although they rejected the propoſals of peace, their mutual diſtreſs induced them to conſent to a truce for two years. Both their kingdoms were deſolated by the impartial ravages of peſtilence; and the pride of Edward, which had been inflamed by proſperity, was now humbled by the loſs of almoſt all his ancient poſſeſſions in France, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and all his conqueſts, except Calais. Yet, even amidſt their common embarraſſments, they were equally induſtrious to keep alive the ſparks of diſcord, by ſilently paſſing over Brittany. But the policy of Charles, in this inſtance, failed him; the duke of Britanny, ſtill aſſiſted by the Engliſh, overwhelmed his opponents, commanded by Oliver Cliſſon; and they were only preſerved from A. D. 1374, 1375.

the vengeance of their prince by a ſecond truce, for a year, concluded at Bruges, in which Brittany was included.

A. D. 1375, 1377. Theſe intervals from war had been aſſiduouſly employed by the king of France to reſtore order and tranquillity to the provinces from which they had been ſo long baniſhed; at the ſame time, by an edict, which he cauſed to be regiſtered in parliament, he fixed the majority of the kings of France at their entrance into their fourteenth year, contrary to the regulation of Philip the Hardy, which continued their minority till they had attained fourteen complete. About this time the prince of Wales, ſo long the ſcourge of the race of Valois, expired of a lingering diſorder. Within the ſpace of a year, his father Edward, having ſurvived the expiration of the truce little more than a month, breathed his laſt. The minority of his grandſon, only eleven years old, left Charles and Du Gueſclin to purſue an almoſt undiſputed conqueſt; and the ſcattered remnant in France which yet had retained its allegiance to England, was entirely overwhelmed, except Bayonne, Bourdeaux, and Calais with its dependencies.

A. D. 1378, 1380. The king of France had the honour this year to receive in his capital the emperor, Charles the Fourth, and his ſon Wen-

Wenceſlaus, king of the Romans. But amidſt ſcenes of luxury and magnificence, the prudence and vigilance of the French monarch were not lulled aſleep, and he commenced his famous proceſs againſt the king of Navarre, for an attempt to poiſon him. Several of his aſſociates ſuffered in the courſe of this enquiry; and the king of Navarre himſelf was deprived of his poſſeſſions in Normandy, and his lordſhip of Montpelier, which he had obtained in return for his claims on the counties of Champagne and Brie, and the duchy of Burgundy. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Charles now turned his attention to the duchy of Brittany, which he was deſirous again to annex to the crown. The duke was attainted of felony by the parliament of Paris; his duchy was declared to be forfeited; while the pretenſions of the widow of Charles of Blois, and his children, were rejected with contempt: But the expectations of the king of France were on this occaſion blaſted by the jealouſy of his own nobility, and by the general indignation of the Bretons. Theſe crowded to the ſtandard of their prince, and even the conſtable, du Gueſclin, refuſed to bear arms againſt his native country. Theſe obſtacles induced Charles to liſten to the language of accommodation; while the Engliſh had availed themſelves of the diviſion to recover ſome places in

Guienne: Againſt theſe the aged conſtable buckled on his armour with the alacrity of youth; the revolted towns were reduced to capitulate; and the caſtle of Chateauneuf de Randan had fixed a day to ſurrender, unleſs relieved. On the morning of that day the conſtable expired, full of years and glory; but the Engliſh governor faithfully executed the agreement, and laid the keys of the caſtle at the feet of the corpſe of the victor.

A. D. 1380. Charles himſelf ſurvived not long his general; after having eſtabliſhed the precarious throne of the houſe of Valois, he yielded, in the prime of his age, to the premature attack of death. All hiſtorians agree in aſcribing his early death to the effects of the poiſon which had been adminiſtered to him when dauphin, by the king of Navarre, who himſelf, about ſix years afterwards, periſhed by a death equally ſingular and deplorable: Some bandages of linen ſteeped in ſulphur and brandy, in which he had been wrapped for the cure of the leproſy, catching fire from the careleſſneſs of a page.

The immediate conſequences of the noxious draught had been delayed by a phyſician ſent to the king of France by the emperor, Charles the Fourth, who diminiſhed the mortal tendency of the venom by opening an iſſue in his arm; but he at the ſame time

time declared, that whenever the iſſue was cloſed, the fate of Charles was inſtantly determined. His prediction was verified; and the king, ſenſible of his approaching end, met it with decent fortitude. His laſt advice to the dukes of Berri, Burgundy, and Bourbon, was to beſtow the conſtable's ſword on Oliver Cliſſon; to ſtrengthen the alliance with Germany by marrying his ſon and ſucceſſor to a princeſs of that country; and to deliver the people as ſoon as poſſible from the burthen of taxes which neceſſity had compelled him to impoſe.

At the age of forty-four, Charles the Fifth was ſnatched from the ſervice of his country, when his experience and abilities might have proved moſt beneficial to it. Death had previouſly deprived him of his queen, Jane, daughter to Peter, duke of Bourbon, an accompliſhed and virtuous princeſs, in whom he intended to veſt the regency. Du Gueſclin alſo, from whoſe valour the ſtate had derived ſuch advantages, was no more. The laſt moments of the dying monarch were clouded by the gloomy proſpect which preſented itſelf; but although his ſagacity might foreſee, his ability could not avert, the evils which threatened the kingdom; and his ſucceſſor was left without experience, and almoſt without a pilot, to ſteer the veſſel of the ſtate through a dangerous and tempeſtuous ſea.

Chapter the Fifteenth.

THE DUKE OF ANJOU APPOINTED REGENT DURING THE MINORITY OF CHARLES THE SIXTH.—UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION AGAINST NAPLES.—MAJORITY OF CHARLES THE SIXTH.—MARCHES AGAINST THE DUKE OF BRITTANY.—IS SEIZED WITH INSANITY NEAR MANS.—DISORDERS WHICH ENSUE.—REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.—ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.—STATE OF ANARCHY IN FRANCE.

A. D. 1380, 1383. ON the death of his father, Charles the Sixth, on whom was beſtowed the appellation of *Well-beloved*, was only twelve years old; and the late king had nominated his eldeſt brother, the duke of Anjou, as the guardian of his nephew, till he attained the age appointed for taking the reins of government into his own hands. The firſt care of the new regent was to aſſume the power of this important truſt; but he

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ſeems throughout totally indifferent to the duties of the charge. Diſtinguiſhed only by unbounded rapacity and inordinate ambition, he readily reſigned the education of the king to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon; the former his uncle by his father's, the latter by his mother's ſide: While the duke of Berri, the third ſon of John the Good, was eclipſed by the ſuperior power and talents of his competitors.

Philip, duke of Burgundy, was the youngeſt of the ſons of John, and had diſtinguiſhed his early valour by the ſide of his father in the unfortunate battle of Poictiers. To reward his courage and conſtancy, that monarch had beſtowed upon him the duchy of Burgundy; and Philip afterwards encreaſed his proſpect of dominion by his own nuptials with the daughter of the count of Flanders; and the marriage of his ſon with Margaret, daughter of Albert of Bavaria, count of Hainault and Holland.

The firſt care of theſe princes was the coronation of the young king, which was performed with great ſplendour at Rheims: The ſword of conſtable was given, according to the deſire of Charles the Fifth, to Oliver Cliſſon; but the duke of Anjou ſoon betrayed the confidence which had been repoſed in him; and loſt to honour and integrity, ſeized, in the caſtle of Melun, the plate

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and treaſures of the late king, to ſupport his own ambitious enterpriſes. Joan, rendered immortal by the profligacy of her character, and who was deſcended from Charles of Anjou, the brother of St. Lewis, reigned at this time at Naples. She had already adopted her relation, Charles Durazzo, as her ſucceſſor; but the inhuman Neapolitan depoſed and murdered his benefactreſs; whoſe laſt breath revoked the nomination, and declared the duke of Anjou the heir to her throne. To ſupport the wild pretenſions of that prince, the treaſures of France were ſcattered with a laviſh hand; but his troops were defeated, and his deſigns continually baffled, by the ſuperior ſkill and artifices of his adverſary; and the duke of Anjou diſcovered too late that he had ſacrificed his honour without gratifying his ambition.

The conduct of the duke of Burgundy was equally to be arraigned: Inſtead of training the mind of his royal pupil to the purſuit of virtue and greatneſs, he indulged him in every deſcription of pleaſure and exceſs; and ſought to ſecure his affections by gratifying the licentious paſſions of youth. The acquieſcence of the duke of Berri was purchaſed by the reſtoration of the county of Languedoc, which by Charles the Fifth had, on account of his oppreſſive conduct, been tranſferred to the count of Foix; while the citizens

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of Paris, oppreſſed by new taxes, broke out into open ſedition, and were with difficulty quelled by ſome of the more ſubſtantial inhabitants, who dreaded, amidſt the tumult, leſt their property ſhould become the prey of the inſurgents.

A peace had been concluded indeed with the duke of Brittany; but Philip of Burgundy, who on the departure of the duke of Anjou for Naples had aſſumed the ſole adminiſtration, ſoon involved the kingdom in more ſerious hoſtilities with the Flemings. Theſe, enraged at the daily impoſts with which they were burthened to ſupply the luxury and prodigality of their count, had erected the ſtandard of revolt, and choſen as their leader Philip, the ſon of James d'Arteville, the famous brewer of Ghent. The ſon degenerated not from the abilities of his father; bold in action, eloquent in council, penetrating and enterpriſing, he prepared his adherents to encounter with reſolution the ſtorm which menaced them. At the head of near fourſcore thouſand men, animated by the preſence of their youthful monarch, the duke of Burgundy, accompanied by the dukes of Berri and Bourbon, and the principal nobility of France, invaded Flanders, to reſtore the authority of the exiled count. But theſe ſplendid preparations ſeemed for ſome time to portend only diſappointment; and the operations of war were at

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firſt favourable to the Flemings. A conſiderable detachment of the French was routed in an ineffectual attempt to raiſe the ſiege of Oudenarde; and the king might have been perhaps expoſed to the diſgrace of a fruitleſs campaign, had not the imprudent ardour of Arteville induced him to hazard a deciſive action near the village of Roſebecque. On the banks of the Lis the hopes of the Flemings were extinguiſhed by the valour and diſcipline of the French; twenty-five thouſand of the inſurgents periſhed on the field; and among theſe was their leader Arteville. Oudenarde was immediately relieved; Courtrai, the chief ſeat of revolt, ſurrendered; and the turbulent Flemings were once more reduced to ſubmiſſion by the arms of France.

A. D. 1384, 1390. The ſatisfaction of the king at this victory was alloyed by freſh tumults at Paris; but the fickle citizens were ſoon humbled by the return of their ſovereign at the head of a triumphant army. Several of the great towns, which had partaken in the guilt, were included in the puniſhment of the capital; while the death of the count of Flanders annexed that country, with the provinces of Artois, Revel, and Nevers, to the poſſeſſions of the duke of Burgundy. About the ſame time the duke of Anjou, overwhelmed by the calamities of his Italian expe-

pedition, expired at Barr, in Calabria; and the king of France, delivered from the immediate controul of two of his uncles, began to aſſume the reins of government, and diſcovered ſymptoms of genius and ſpirit which revived the drooping hopes of his country. His marriage had already engroſſed the attention of his council; but Charles refuſed to ſacrifice his domeſtic happineſs to the forms which had bound his predeceſſors; and declared his reſolution previouſly to behold the perſon intended for his conſort. An interview was contrived for him at Amiens with Iſabella, daughter of the duke of Bavaria; and the inſinuating addreſs and perſonal charms of that princeſs, fatally determined his choice in her favour.

The underſtanding of the king, though uncultivated, appears to be clear and manly: He again deprived his uncle, the duke of Berri, of the government of Languedoc, which he continued to abuſe; and conciliated the affections of his people, by reſtoring their privileges, and relieving them from the vexatious taxes which a minority had impoſed. He reduced the Flemings to acknowledge the authority of his uncle, the duke of Burgundy, which at firſt they had oppoſed; he detached John de Vienne, with fifteen hundred men at arms, to reinforce the Scotch

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in their incurſions againſt the Engliſh; and encouraged by the diſorders of the Engliſh government, and by the feeble character of Richard the Second, he prepared a prodigious fleet at Sluys to invade that kingdom, in hopes of recovering Calais, in exchange for the conqueſt he might make in England. But this enterpriſe was defeated by the indolence and obſtinacy of the duke of Berri; a majority of the ſhips were loſt in a ſtorm; and the advanced ſtate of the ſeaſon compelled the king, though reluctantly, to abandon the immediate execution of his deſigns. A truce was ſoon after concluded between the two kingdoms, for the ſpace of three years; and before it expired England was preſerved from the menaced danger, and France plunged into more deep and fatal calamities, by an incident the moſt extraordinary and deplorable.

A. D. 1390, 1392. The Sieur de Craon, a profligate nobleman, had been entruſted by the court of France with a conſiderable ſum of money for the ſupport of the duke of Anjou, reduced to extreme diſtreſs by his Italian expedition. He had betrayed the confidence which had been thus repoſed in him; and diſſipated the money in his licentious pleaſures at Venice. By the credit of the duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, he obtained his pardon, and returned to court,

court, to abuſe the clemency of his ſovereign by an act of more atrocious treachery. To gratify his private reſentment, he attempted to aſſaſſinate the conſtable, Oliver Cliſſon, whom he ſuſpected of having promoted his diſgrace. The veteran hero was attacked as he returned from the hotel of St. Pol by twenty ruffians; and although he defended himſelf with his ſword with his wonted intrepidity, he at length fell, from the loſs of blood and the number of his wounds. The goodneſs of his conſtitution triumphed over the bloody malice of his aſſailants, while Craon fled from the vengeance of his incenſed ſovereign to the protection of the duke of Brittany.

Charles demanded the criminal; and on the refuſal of the duke, prepared to compel him, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the dukes of Burgundy and Berri, at the head of a numerous army. Accompanied by theſe princes, he had ſcarce arrived at Mans before he was ſeized with a ſlow fever; but his impatience to puniſh the crime of Craon, and the contempt of the duke of Brittany, induced him to reſiſt the advice of his phyſicians, and to continue his march. As he paſſed through a foreſt between Mans and La Fleche, in the heat of the day, the bridle of his horſe was ſuddenly ſeized by a man in wretched apparel,

apparel, black and hideous; who exclaimed, "My king, where are you going? you are be-"trayed!" and then inſtantly diſappeared. At that moment, a page who carried the king's lance, and who under the preſſure of fatigue had fallen aſleep, let fall the lance on a helmet which another page carried before him. This noiſe, with the ſudden appearance and exclamation of the man, concurred to produce an immediate and fatal effect on the king's imagination. He drew his ſword, and ſtruck furiouſly on every ſide; three perſons, beſides the page who dropped the lance, were the victims of his phrenzy; at length he was diſarmed and ſecured. The violence of the effort had exhauſted his ſtrength; and he was conveyed, ſenſeleſs and motionleſs, to Mans.

This account, ſtrange and improbable, is yet ſupported by the united teſtimonies of contemporary hiſtorians. Probably the mind of the king, oppreſſed by indiſpoſition, preſented to his fancy the ideal figure, the ſource of his terror; probably the duke of Burgundy uſed this artifice to fright him from an expedition, from which he had endeavoured ineffectually to diſſuade. But whatever was the cauſe of Charles's delirium, the conſequences were melancholy. The invaſion of Brittany was immediately abandoned; the

the king was re-conducted to Paris; and expreſſed, on the recovery of his ſenſes, his horror at the blood which had been thus unknowingly ſpilt.

During the three days that his delirium had laſted, the grief of his people proclaimed the blameleſs tenor of his adminiſtration: The intelligence of his recovery was welcomed by marks of unfeigned and unbounded tranſport; but it was ſoon diſcovered that he no longer poſſeſſed that clear comprehenſion and ſtrength of judgment, which had formerly characterized him. The doubtful ſtate of his intellects rendered it neceſſary that the royal power ſhould be veſted in more able hands; and the competition for the regency brought forward two characters which hitherto had been concealed from public obſervation. Iſabella, the conſort of the unfortunate monarch, has already been celebrated for her uncommon beauty and inſinuating addreſs: But theſe qualities were alloyed by a mind violent, vindictive, and intriguing; by a heart inſenſible to the natural affections of a parent, but open to flattery, and ſuſceptible of the impreſſion of every lawleſs paſſion. The duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, had but juſt entered his twentieth year; his perſon was graceful, his features animated, and he was by nature and education formed

to ſucceed in gallantry; his early marriage with Valentina, the daughter of the duke of Milan, a princeſs of extraordinary charms and accompliſhments, did not prevent him from engaging in a variety of licentious amours; and his intimacy with his royal ſiſter-in-law was abhorred as criminal and inceſtuous. Profuſe and prodigal, his hopes were inflamed by the partiality of the queen; and he openly aſpired to the regency: But the ſtates regarded him with prudent diſtruſt; and conferred the adminiſtration of affairs on the more mature years of his uncle, the duke of Burgundy. Oliver Cliſſon, perſecuted by that prince, and deprived of the ſword of conſtable, which was beſtowed on the count of Eu, retired into his native province, defended his poſſeſſions in that country by his own valour and that of his vaſſals, and at length effected a reconciliation with the duke of Brittany.

A. D. 1393. A few months ſeemed to reſtore the health and underſtanding of the wretched Charles, when an accident ſcarce leſs extraordinary than the firſt, plunged him into his former phrenzy. An entertainment had been given in honour of the marriage of one of the queen's attendants; and ſix maſques entered the apartment, diſguiſed like ſatyrs, in dreſſes made of linen, covered with roſin, and while warm powdered

dered with down: Theſe were the king and five lords of his court. The perſon of Charles attracted the notice of the ducheſs of Berri; and although ignorant who he was, ſhe engaged him in converſation. In the mean time the duke of Orleans, out of levity, run a lighted torch againſt one of the party; the flame was inſtantly communicated to the reſt; and amidſt their torments, they repeatedly cried out, "Save the king! Save "the king!" The ducheſs of Berri, recollecting that it muſt be the maſque with whom ſhe had been converſing, wrapped him in her cloak, and preſerved him from the danger. One eſcaped by jumping into a ciſtern of water; but the other four periſhed in the greateſt agonies. The terror of the king was attended by an inſtant relapſe; and the unhappy delirium continued, though with ſome intervals of reaſon, to the laſt moments of his life.

In his moſt diſtracted ſtate, Valentina, ducheſs of Orleans, gained the ſame aſcendancy over the mind of Charles, as her conſort had acquired over that of the queen. She alone was grateful to him; and ſhe only could ſooth by her preſence the fury which frequently convulſed his frame. An ignorant and ſuperſtitious age attributed her influence to magical incantations; but inſanity itſelf is not inſenſible to the power of beauty;

and the enmity of her rivals purſued the authority which ſhe had attained by her ſuperior charms. The ducheſs of Burgundy in particular diſtinguiſhed herſelf by an implacable hatred; and the quarrels of theſe ladies were ſoon extended to, and perpetuated by, their huſbands. Yet their own prudence ſuggeſted to them to court the people by reſtraining within proper bounds the public expenditure; and to conciliate the affections of the parliament, by preſerving inviolate the rights and privileges of the Commons. Among other regulations which marked their adminiſtration, was one which, though ineffectual, does credit to their intentions, and will meet the applauſe of modern times. They endeavoured by wholeſome penalties to check the rage for gaming, which already began to appear, and to ſubſtitute martial and manly exerciſes in its place.

A. D. 1394. This year a ſchiſm broke out in the court of Rome, which for forty ſucceſſive years diſtracted its councils, and divided the opinions of its followers. For ſome time paſt the popes had reſided at Avignon; but Gregory the Eleventh had been perſuaded to return to Rome, and expired there. The Romans, ſuſpicious leſt the ſeat of papacy ſhould be transferred again to Avignon, tumultuouſly ſurrounded the conclave, and compelled the electors to raiſe

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to the vacant chair of St. Peter, Urban the Sixth, by birth an Italian: But the majority of cardinals, who were French, no ſooner had recovered their liberty, than they fled from Rome, proteſted againſt the election as the effect of compulſion, and choſe Robert, ſon of the count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement the Seventh, and eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Avignon. The different kingdoms of Chriſtendom were divided between the two pontiffs; and France, after an ineffectual effort to compoſe the difference, adhered, with her allies of Caſtile and Scotland, to the cauſe of Clement; while England declared for Urban. Each party was deſcribed by the different appellations of *Clementines* and *Urbanites*; and each mutually branded the other with the opprobrious term of Schiſmatics, and rebels to the true ſucceſſor of St. Peter.

In the intervals of recovery, Charles frequently reſumed his authority. The A. D. 1396. war between the French and Engliſh had been carried on with languor, and the two kings equally tired of theſe fruitleſs hoſtilities, began to think in earneſt of a laſting peace. An interview for this purpoſe was appointed near Calais; but they found their pretenſions ſtill ſo difficult to adjuſt, that they were content to eſtabliſh a truce for twenty-five years. Charles prevailed on Richard

the Second to reſtore Cherbourg to France, and Breſt to the duke of Brittany. To draw the bands of amity between the two monarchs ſtill cloſer, Richard, now a widower, was contracted to Iſabella, the daughter of Charles, a princeſs then only ſeven years of age. But this marriage, from which the king of England hoped to derive ſome protection againſt the ambition of his uncles and the turbulence of his barons, was never conſummated, on account of the inequality of their years.

Sigiſmond, king of Hungary, had implored the aſſiſtance of France, to check the rapid progreſs of Bajazet, the ſultan of the Ottomans, who had already ſwept away whatever adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Theſſaly. To the defence of Hungary marched the flower of French chivalry, animated by the preſence of John, count of Nevers, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Burgundy; the count of Eu, conſtable; John de Vienne, admiral, of France; and the count of Marche, a peer of the blood royal. The ardour of theſe gallant princes was tempered by the experience of de Courcy, one of the beſt and oldeſt captains of Chriſtendom. But in the day of action they rejected his prudent counſels, and the moderate advice of Sigiſmond. On the approach of the Turks, at the head of their martial

tial train, which ſcarce exceeded a thouſand knights and eſquires, juſt riſen from the pleaſures of the table, and heated with wine, they charged the vanguard of the infidels with inconſiderate valour. Their preſumption was fatal to themſelves, and to the cauſe of Sigiſmond: In the plains of Nicopolis they were deſerted by the Hungarians, and overwhelmed by myriads of the Ottomans. The count of Nevers, and twenty-four other lords, whoſe birth promiſed the advantage of a ſplendid ranſom, were preſerved by the avarice of Bajazet; the remainder of the French captives were ſucceſſively led before the throne; and as they refuſed to abjure their faith, were beheaded in the preſence of the ſultan, exaſperated by the loſs of his braveſt janiſſaries. The ſurvivors were a long time confined at Bourſa, the royal reſidence of the victor; and were at length ranſomed for the ſum of two hundred thouſand ducats.

The relapſes of Charles became every day more violent; the fatal effects of his former phrenzy were indelibly impreſſed on his mind; and one day, ſenſible of the rapid approach of his delirium, he called to the duke of Burgundy to diſarm him, leſt again he ſhould injure any of his ſubjects. About this time the ancient adverſary of France and ally of England, John, duke of Brittany, expired; and bequeath- A. D. 1397, 1398.

ed his children to the protection of Oliver Cliſſon, whoſe honourable enmity he had ſo frequently experienced, and whoſe friendſhip he had ſo lately cultivated. Cliſſon proved himſelf worthy of the confidence of his maſter: At that prince's deceaſe he was confined to his bed by indiſpoſition; and his daughter, the Counteſs of Penthievre, who had married the competitor of the late duke, propoſed to her father to ſeize the favourable moment, and to reſtore the duchy to her children. The ſoul of Cliſſon was incapable of treachery; and the feelings of the parent were loſt in indignation. He darted a javelin, which ſtood at his bed's head, at his daughter: The counteſs, in endeavouring to eſcape, fell down ſtairs; her thigh was broken; and her lameneſs ever after atteſted her own diſgrace and the unſhaken fidelity of her father.

A. D. 1399. In England a different and more turbulent ſcene preſented itſelf. The weakneſs and diſſipation of Richard the Second had nouriſhed the ambition of his nobles; and the duke of Hereford, the ſon of the duke of Lancaſter, and the couſin of the king, was diſtinguiſhed above the reſt by the formidable qualities of courage, of prudence, and of inſinuating addreſs. Baniſhed by the king for his intrigues, during his abſence the title of Lancaſter devolved on

on him by the death of his father. The profuſion of the king rendered it neceſſary for him to repleniſh his coffers by means the moſt inconſiſtent with juſtice; and he ſeized to his own uſe, contrary to his royal word, the inheritance of his exiled kinſman. Henry of Lancaſter was connected with the principal nobility in blood, alliance, or friendſhip: Theſe conſidered the injury in its conſequences as likely to affect them all: The common people were already gained by his courteous manners; and the different ranks of the Engliſh turned their eyes upon him, as the only perſon who could retrieve the honour of the nation, or redreſs the abuſes of government.

Richard had himſelf embarked for Ireland, to chaſtiſe the revolt of the natives; and left his kingdom open to the enterpriſes of his ambitious enemy; when the duke of Lancaſter landed at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire, with a train of ſixty perſons, among whom were the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the earl of Arundel, the nephew of that prelate. They were immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland; and the ſpirit of diſaffection, in a few days march, ſwelled the army of Henry to ſixty thouſand men. The duke of York, who had been left regent of the realm, was equally diſqualified by his ſlender capacity and natural connexions, from checking the

the progreſs of his nephew; who yet only claimed, as a loyal ſupplicant, his legal patrimony. But the king himſelf, on the news of this formidable invaſion, and the additional intelligence that ſeveral of his miniſters had fallen victims to the wiſhes of the people and the authority of Henry, haſtened from Ireland. At Milford Haven he diſembarked an army of twenty thouſand men; but theſe ſoon caught the general contagion, and deſerted their unfortunate ſovereign. Richard, hopeleſs of ſuccour, ſurrendered himſelf to the earl of Northumberland, was conveyed to London, and was depoſed by the tumultuous clamours of his ſubjects and the irregular deciſion of a partial and factious parliament. His ſucceſsful kinſman, the duke of Lancaſter, was raiſed to the vacant throne; and ſoon extinguiſhed, by the death of his former ſovereign, his apprehenſions from the compaſſion of a fickle and generous people.

A. D. 1400, 1403. Wenceſlaus, emperor of Germany, had implored the aſſiſtance of France to reſtore him to that dignity of which he had been deprived by the electors; and Manuel Paleologus, the emperor of Conſtantinople, appeared a ſuppliant at Paris, to arouſe again the ardour of the French to the encounter of Bajazet, and the defence of the imperial city. To the aid of Wenceſlaus

ceſlaus, the duke of Orleans led a gallant army; acquired for himſelf the duchy of Luxemburgh; and left his ally ſatisfied with the kingdom of Bohemia: while the arms of Bajazet were diverted from Europe by the invaſion of Tamerlane, the Mogul emperor; and Paleologus was left at liberty to return and occupy Conſtantinople. But although foreign empires ſought the ſuccour and ſupport of France, the internal government of that kingdom preſented a picture of frightful anarchy and confuſion. The unhappy malady of Charles ſeemed daily to gain ground; and the diſcordant intereſts and contending parties of the two dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, grew up into factions of the moſt rancorous and inveterate animoſity. The former, by his own dominion over the affections of the queen, and by the influence of his ducheſs over the king, gained a tranſient ſuperiority, and obtained a commiſſion which created him lieutenant-general and governor of the realm: But he abuſed his power to levy new impoſts on the people; and his imprudence even included the church in the impartial oppreſſion. A burſt of general reſentment drove him from the helm, and called to it the duke of Burgundy. The paſſions of theſe haughty and ambitious chiefs might perhaps have inſtantly kindled the flames of civil war, had not their rage been in

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ſome meaſure appeaſed by the mediation of the duke of Bourbon, the only prince who approached the throne, and maintained a character pure and unſpotted.

A. D. 1404. Yet ſome praiſe muſt be allowed to the policy of the duke of Burgundy, which allured to Paris the youthful ſons of the late duke of Brittany, and preſerved them from being ſeduced by the arts of Henry the Fourth of England, who had married their mother to ſtrengthen his intereſt in that province. Perhaps his life might have ſhielded France from the calamities which afterwards overwhelmed it: His premature death, at this critical period, expoſed it, without chart or pilot, to the fury of the ſtorm. He was ſucceeded in his dominions by his ſon John, count of Nevers, ſurnamed the *Fearleſs*, and who inherited the enmity of his father to the duke of Orleans, without poſſeſſing his judgment or apparent moderation.

A. D. 1405. The queen and the duke of Orleans had again ſeized the adminiſtration: They were again driven from it by the virtuous clamours of a people, who regarded their intimacy with honeſt indignation. While their reſpective courts had been maintained in luxury and magnificence, the unhappy Charles and his children had been abandoned to the moſt abject diſtreſs. They were

were relieved and treated with reſpect and attention by the duke of Burgundy, who was nominated by the general voice of the public to the regency, on the retreat of Iſabella and the duke of Orleans to Melun: When ſuddenly the king ſeemed to emerge from the darkneſs which had ſo long obſcured his underſtanding; his reaſon returned for a longer interval; he deprived the rival dukes of the authority which they had alternately enjoyed, and alternately abuſed; and veſted the entire government in the queen and a council of ſtate compoſed of princes of the blood.

The dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, alike precluded from interfering in the cabinet, determined to exerciſe their reſtleſs tempers in martial enterpriſes againſt the Engliſh. They were encouraged by the unſettled ſituation of Henry the Fourth, continually aſſailed by ſecret conſpiracies and open rebellions. But the invaſion of Guienne and the attempt on Calais proved equally unſucceſsful; and the miniſters of Charles, after obtaining the reſtoration of his daughter, who had been contracted to Richard the Second, conſented to renew the truce between the two kingdoms. The failure of their different expeditions rekindled the animoſity of the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, and they mutually attributed their diſappointments to each other. At A. D. 1406.

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the intreaties of the duke of Berri they conſented to a reconciliation; they embraced at Paris, in the preſence of their uncle; and even vowed on the ſacrament, to bury in oblivion the remembrance of former enmity.

A. D. 1407. But theſe ſolemn pledges of friendſhip were proſtituted by the duke of Burgundy more eaſily to ſatiate his vengeance. A contention for power was inflamed by the rage of jealouſy; and he ſuſpected the duke of Orleans, whoſe character for gallantry was notorious, of having violated the honour of his marriage bed. The injury was mortal; but the means which he purſued to obtain his revenge were unworthy of his family and his former fame. As the duke of Orleans returned in the dark from the hotel of St. Pol, where he had paſſed the evening with the queen, mounted on a mule, and only accompanied by two pages, he was ſuddenly attacked by eighteen aſſaſſins, headed by a Norman gentleman whom he had deprived of an employment. With the firſt blow of a battle-axe he cut off the duke's hand; at the ſecond he ſtruck him from his mule; and with the third he clove his ſkull, leaving him dead on the ground.

A. D. 1408, 1414. The duke of Burgundy at firſt affected to lament the death of his noble kinſman with well diſſembled ſorrow; he appeared

peared at his funeral; and his ſighs were even accompanied by tears. But when it was propoſed, at the requeſt of the provoſt of Paris, to ſearch the houſes of the different princes, his countenance betrayed the guilty ſecret. Conſcious of his danger, to the duke of Bourbon he acknowledged himſelf the author of the bloody deed; and, with his band of aſſaſſins, he eluded the immediate ſword of juſtice by a precipitate flight into Flanders. Valentina, the widow of the late duke of Orleans, oppreſſed by grief, ſoon followed her huſband to the grave; but her ſon, though only ſixteen years of age, and who ſucceeded to his father's honours, loudly demanded vengeance on the murderer. The kingdom was rent between the two factions, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs; for ſo the adherents of the duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, the father-in-law of that prince. The chief of the former had, at the head of a numerous army, returned to the capital, and extorted a pardon from the feeble king, who ſeized ſometimes by one party, ſometimes by the other, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority; and ſome idea may be formed of the rage which deſolated the kingdom, ſince in Paris only two thouſand citizens periſhed in one commotion.

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The miſery of France ſcarce ſeemed to admit of any addition, when the calamities of internal diſcord, which almoſt bowed the monarchy to the ground, were unexpectedly augmented by the fury of foreign invaſion. The pretenſions which had dyed with blood the fields of Crecy and Poictiers, were again revived by the crown of England: And to a warlike prince, already wreathed with victory, and early educated in fields of battle, France could only oppoſe an inſane king; an inexperienced dauphin, whoſe character, fickle, inconſtant and diſſolute, accumulated the evils of the ſtate; and a nobility divided in principle and purſuing each other with active enmity and unabated rage.

Chapter

Chapter the Sixteenth.

INVASION OF FRANCE BY HENRY THE FIFTH, KING OF ENGLAND.—BATTLE OF AZINCOURT.—DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE DAUPHIN CHARLES AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH.—ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—HENRY ESPOUSES CATHARINE, DAUGHTER TO THE KING OF FRANCE, AND IS DECLARED REGENT AND HEIR OF THAT KINGDOM.—DEATHS OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

THE crown of England, which Henry the Fourth acquired by rebellion, and which he ſtained by the murder of the prince whom he depoſed, he preſerved by his policy and valour. His ſon Henry the Fifth inherited it by a purer title; and it was the advice of his dying father to divert the reſtleſs ſpirits of the Engliſh from inteſtine commotions to foreign wars. The diſſenſions of France preſented a favourable opportunity; the new monarch was ſcarce eſtabliſhed on A. D. 1415.

throne before all England reſounded with his preparations; and the miniſters of Charles were aſtoniſhed at the demand, as the price of peace, of Catharine, the French king's daughter, in marriage; two millions of crowns, as her portion; one million ſix hundred thouſand, as the arrears of king John's ranſom; and the immediate poſſeſſion and full ſovereignty of all the other provinces which had been raviſhed from England by the arms of Philip Auguſtus, together with the ſuperiority of Brittany and Flanders.

A ſhort interval of reaſon had allowed the king at this period to reſume the reins of government; and he had diſplayed a tranſient vigour in repreſſing the factions of the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, and compelling them to ſubmit to the terms that he preſcribed. But his council, conſcious how little dependence could be placed on the preſent calm, were willing to avert the ſtorm which threatened them from abroad. Inſtead of rejecting theſe exorbitant demands with contempt, they offered to Henry the princeſs Catharine, with a portion of eight hundred thouſand crowns; the entire ſovereignty of Guienne; and to annex to that province the countries of Perigord, Rovergue, Saintonge, the Angoumois, and other territories. But the negociation of the king of England had never been ſerious; the minds of his ſubjects could

could only be diverted from the means by which his father had acquired the crown by an invaſion of France; he rejected theſe conditions, continued his preparations for war, and aſſembled a formidable armament at the port of Southampton.

That wealth with which the miniſters of France had endeavoured to purchaſe peace, they employed to foment the diſcontents of the ſubjects of Henry, and allured ſeveral of his nobility into a conſpiracy againſt their ſovereign. But their treaſon was diſcovered, and their dark deſigns proved only fatal to themſelves; while France, at the moment that ſhe depended on the ſucceſs of her intrigues, was alarmed and diſmayed by the intelligence that Henry, with an army of ſix thouſand men at arms and twenty-four thouſand foot, had landed near Harfleur, and preſſed the ſiege of that town, which, after an obſtinate defence, was compelled to capitulate.

But the gallantry of the governor and garriſon of Harfleur allowed France time to collect her forces; an army of fourteen thouſand men at arms, and forty thouſand foot, was aſſembled in Normandy, under the conſtable d'Albert; while the fatigues of the ſiege, and the uncommon heat of the ſeaſon, had waſted the numbers of the Engliſh to one half of their original force. Henry had already diſmiſſed his tranſports, which would have been

endangered on an open coaſt; and ſenſible of the difficulties which muſt attend his march to Calais, he offered to purchaſe a ſafe retreat at the expence of his new conqueſt of Harfleur. But the army of the conſtable was already joined by the dauphin and the princes of the blood. Impatient to ſignalize themſelves, and efface the diſgrace of Crecy and Poictiers, they rejected the propoſal; and the king of England found he muſt place his ſole reliance on his own conduct and valour. He ſlowly pointed his march towards the river Somme, which he hoped to paſs at the ſame ford as had proved ſo auſpicious to his predeceſſor Edward. In this he was diſappointed by the precautions of the French; and as he advanced along the banks of the river, his proviſions hourly diminiſhed and his difficulties increaſed. At length he ſurpriſed a paſſage near St. Quintin; but he had ſcarcely reached the oppoſite ſide, before the French, who preſſed upon his footſteps, traverſed the Somme alſo, and poſted themſelves between the Engliſh army and Calais.

The experience of former defeats, it might naturally have been expected, would have checked the impetuoſity of the French, and would have taught them to have extinguiſhed their adverſary without truſting to the uncertain event of a field of battle: But in an age when the art of war

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was little underſtood, and when all glory conſiſted in perſonal proweſs, it was difficult to reſtrain the ſwelling ſpirits of a martial nobility, who conſidered the preſence of their enemy as an inſult. The dauphin and the duke of Berri had abſented themſelves to attend the king, who was oppreſſed by a return of his indiſpoſition; and the command was entruſted to the conſtable d'Albert, who in his determination to fight, and in the diſpoſition which he made, ſhewed himſelf equally unworthy of the confidence repoſed in him. The plains of Azincourt have been rendered immortal by this celebrated action. Henry no ſooner found his retreat intercepted by the appearance of the enemy, than he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank; and patiently awaited the charge of his foes, whoſe numbers four times exceeded his own.

In the battle of Azincourt we review that of Poictiers; the French charged with the ſame contempt of danger and diſcipline; the Engliſh received them with the ſame cool and deliberate intrepidity. The former were led on by a generous nobility, and encouraged by their ſuperior numbers; the latter were animated by the preſence of their king, and the memory of ancient glory. The event was ſuch as might be expected; the French were diſordered by their own impe-

tuoſity, and their numbers ſerved only to increaſe their confuſion and diſgrace. Their cavalry were entangled in the heavy ground on which they engaged; and, incapable of flight or reſiſtance, were ſlaughtered by the battle-axes of the Engliſh. The conſtable himſelf, the count of Nevers, and the duke of Brabant, both brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the dukes of Alençon and Barre, the counts of Vaudemont and Marle, ſcorning to ſurvive this national calamity, ruſhed into the midſt of the tumult, and periſhed, with above ten thouſand of their followers. The dukes of Orleans and Bourbon; the counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richemont; the mareſchal of Boucicaut; and above fourteen thouſand of inferior rank, were taken priſoners: While on the ſide of the Engliſh, the duke of York was the only perſon of conſequence who fell; and their whole loſs did not exceed forty men.

A. D. 1415, 1416. Henry immediately purſued his triumphant march to Calais; but the inconſiderable number of his troops did not allow him to improve his advantage. From Calais he paſſed over with his priſoners to England, and ſoon after concluded a truce with the miniſters of Charles. But whatever reaſons might deter the Engliſh monarch from returning with freſh forces to the inſtant conqueſt of France, that kingdom,

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on the news of his victory, was ſhaken by the moſt violent convulſions. Conſternation and affright pervaded every province; and the death of the dauphin Lewis, though his character afforded no promiſe of happier times, heightened the confuſion, by the ſuſpicious circumſtances which accompanied his indiſpoſition. His ſecond brother John, who ſucceeded to his rights and title, and who had married the daughter of the duke of Burgundy, within a year was involved in the ſame unexpected fate; and the voice of a jealous people, which even glanced at the queen, more loudly accuſed the king of Sicily, the ſon of the duke of Anjou, who expired at Calabria, of adminiſtering poiſon to John, that he might promote the intereſt of Charles, the third ſon of the king of France, on whom his daughter had beſtowed her hand, and on whom the title of dauphin now devolved.

The ſword of conſtable had been beſtowed, after the defeat of Azincourt, on A. D. 1417. the count of Armagnac, whoſe enterpriſing meaſures compelled the duke of Burgundy to relinquiſh the adminiſtration that he had uſurped, and drove him from court to ſeek refuge in his own territories. From thence he was ſoon invited by new diſſenſions in the royal family. The queen had amaſſed, by years of ſucceſſive rapacity, an immenſe treaſure; the dauphin was perſuaded not only to ſeize

it for the public uſe, but at the ſame time to execute an act of exemplary vengeance on one of her minions who had diſhonoured his father's bed. The queen herſelf was ſent to Tours, and ſtrictly confined. But the ſpirit of Iſabella could ill brook theſe reiterated inſults; and ſhe no longer ſcrupled to enter into a correſpondence with the duke of Burgundy. As her ſon, the dauphin, was attached to the houſe of Orleans, ſhe ſoon extended her reſentment to him. Delivered from her confinement by the arms of the duke of Burgundy, ſhe is ſuppoſed to have received that prince with the ſame criminal complaiſance as ſhe had before ſhewn to the duke of Orleans, whom he had cauſed to be aſſaſſinated. She aſſumed the title and authority of regent, to which ſhe had been nominated by a former edict of the king. She fixed the ſeat of her independent reſidence at Troyes; and ſanctioned by her name the enterpriſes of her new ally againſt the miniſters of her ſon, who, ſhe aſſerted, detained her royal conſort in captivity.

A. D. 1418, 1419. Henry the Fifth had landed again in Normandy, and reduced that fertile province to his obedience. Liſle-Adam, one of the captains of the duke of Burgundy, ſuddenly preſented himſelf before the gates of Paris; was admitted into the city by the partiality or treachery of a burgher; and headed an inſurrection of the people,

people, in which the perſon of the king was ſeized, and the count of Armagnac, the chancellor, and the principal adherents of the Orleans party, were inhumanly maſſacred. The dauphin himſelf eſcaped with difficulty, through the vigilance and addreſs of Tannegui de Chaſtel; and rejecting the ſolicitations of his mother to return to Paris, ſecured himſelf within the walls of Poictiers.

The king of England, with an army ſuperior to open reſiſtance, had already ſhaken the walls of Rouen. To the cardinal des Urſins, who entreated him to think of peace, and to moderate his pretenſions, "Do you not ſee," he replied, "that God has led me hither as by the hand: "Every thing here is in the utmoſt confuſion; "no one thinks of reſiſting me. Can I have a "more ſenſible proof that the Being who diſ-"poſes of empires has determined to place the "crown of France on my head?" Yet Henry was ſenſible what obſtacles ſtill remained for him to ſurmount; he had already experienced the difficulties of procuring ſupplies from the Engliſh parliament; and his coffers were exhauſted by a ſucceſſion of victories. However flattering the proſpect might be to his ambition, his policy induced him gradually to leſſen his demands; and he fixed, as the price of peace, his marriage with the princeſs Catharine, and all the provinces ceded to Edward the Third by the treaty of Bretigny,

tigny, with the addition of Normandy, which he was to receive in full and entire ſovereignty. Iſabella, deſtitute of every feeling as a queen and mother, and inſatiate of revenge againſt her perſonal enemies, inſtantly cloſed with the terms propoſed, and even conducted her daughter to Troyes, in Champagne, where the nuptials with Henry were to be ſolemnized. But the duke of Burgundy ſtill heſitated. Whether a ſpark of patriotiſm ſtill glowed within his boſom, and ſuffered him not to ſubſcribe a treaty ſo pernicious to his country; whether he dreaded the riſing genius of Henry, and foreſaw his own ruin in the aggrandiſement of the Engliſh monarch, he ſeized the interval, preſſed his negociations with the dauphin, and conſented to an accommodation to reſcue his country from deſtruction.

A. D. 1419. Whatever were the views of the duke of Burgundy, the conduct of the dauphin has for ever ſtained his memory with the blackeſt treachery. An interview was appointed between the two princes at the bridge of Montereau-ſur-Yonne: But the former was ſtill conſcious of his dark and bloody crime in the aſſaſſination of the duke of Orleans; he dreaded the vengeance due to his guilt, and ſtudiouſly procraſtinated the fatal hour of conference. Every precaution was taken to remove his fears; lofty rails were erected acroſs the bridge; and it was agreed that

that only ten perſons on each ſide ſhould be admitted into the vacant ſpace. Even to the laſt moment his reluctance was extreme; but he had now advanced too far to retreat. He entered the fatal gate, and threw himſelf at the feet of the dauphin: At that inſtant, Tannegui de Chaſtel, with ſeveral others of the dauphin's party, and who had been attached to the late duke of Orleans, ſprung over the barrier. The firſt blow was given by Chaſtel; and the duke of Burgundy immediately fell, pierced with a hundred wounds. His friends, aſtoniſhed, and incapable of reſiſtance, were either taken priſoners or involved in his fate.

The patience of the reader muſt have been already fatigued by the long ſeries of bloody crimes which marks this turbulent and ſanguinary æra; but the laſt atrocious deed claims ſuch a pre-eminence of guilt as again awakens our attention and indignation: We behold a prince, on whom an extenſive kingdom long harraſſed by foreign and domeſtic war reſted her laſt hopes, deſpiſe all principles of honour, trample on every law, and become the baſe accomplice of a cowardly aſſaſſination. The extreme youth of the dauphin has indeed been pleaded in extenuation of his conduct; but in his more mature years he retained about his perſon, and diſtinguiſhed by every mark

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of affection and confidence the perpetrators of the flagitious action. The bands of civil ſociety were looſened by the royal example; and the flames of war, which might have been extinguiſhed, or their fury at leaſt aſſuaged, broke forth with increaſe of violence. Iſabella, loud in her complaints, and impatient for vengeance, inſtantly beſtowed the hand of Catharine on Henry, and celebrated their nuptials at Troyes. Philip, the ſon of the duke of Burgundy, and who ſucceeded to the honours and dominions of his father, joined the Engliſh ſtandard, and only ſtipulated the marriage of his ſiſter with the duke of Bedford, the brother of Henry, and the proſcription of his father's aſſaſſins. The city of Paris, long partial to the houſe of Burgundy, roſe in arms, and filled every ſtreet with ſcenes of bloody tumult; while the unhappy Charles the Sixth, ſunk into imbecility, and delivered into the hands of the natural enemy of his country, ſanctioned by his name the unbounded ambition of Henry, and the implacable paſſions of Iſabella.

A. D. 1420. In the new treaty concluded between the kings of France and England and the duke of Burgundy, it was agreed that Charles during his life ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry ſhould be declared heir, and immediately entruſted with the reins

reins of government, and that that kingdom ſhould paſs to his heirs general; that France and England ſhould for ever be united under one king, but ſhould ſtill retain their ſeveral uſages, cuſtoms, and privileges; that all the princes, peers, vaſſals, and communities of France ſhould ſwear, that they would both adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry, and pay him preſent obedience as regent; that this prince ſhould unite his arms to thoſe of king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to ſubdue the adherents of the pretended dauphin; and that theſe three princes ſhould make no peace or truce with him but by common conſent and agreement.

A. D. 1421. As ſoon as the dauphin received intelligence of the treaty of Troyes, he aſſumed the title of regent, and declared his determination to depend for the maintenance of it on God and his ſword. But unable to reſiſt the confederacy of his enemies, he retired into the ſouthern provinces, and fortified himſelf in the countries beyond the Loire. Henry, in the mean time, occupied Sens, and made himſelf maſter of Montereau; where the duke of Burgundy found the corpſe of his father indecently buried in the cloaths in which he was ſlain. His pious care embalmed it, and conveyed it in a leaden coffin to Dijon. The garriſon and governor of Melun

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for four months checked the progreſs of the Engliſh, but that town was at length reduced; and Henry, after entruſting Paris to the vigilance of his uncle, the duke of Exeter, croſſed over to England, to provide the ſupplies neceſſary for the enſuing campaign. He had already levied a new army of four thouſand men at arms, and twenty-four thouſand archers, when his embarkation was haſtened by an important and unexpected defeat.

When Charles, the dauphin, retired beyond the Loire, he was almoſt entirely deſtitute of money or troops. The former he procured to ſupply his preſent exigencies by the dangerous meaſure of debaſing his coin; and Scotland, jealous of the progreſs of Henry, and fearful of the inevitable ruin of her ancient ally, permitted a body of ſeven thouſand men, under the command of the earl of Buchan, ſecond ſon to the duke of Albany, then regent of the kingdom, to be tranſported to France for the ſupport of the dauphin. Henry had endeavoured to recall theſe in the name of the Scottiſh king, at that time his priſoner; but the earl of Buchan replied, that he would obey no commands which came from a king in captivity; and that a prince, while in the hands of his enemy, was entitled to no authority.

The duke of Clarence, a younger brother of the

the king of England, had made an incurſion into Anjou, and attempted to ſurpriſe the Scotch, then encamped by themſelves at Beauge. The earl of Buchan in a few moments gave to his troops an order and a field of battle. Victory was long obſtinately diſputed; but the Engliſh were at laſt defeated. The duke of Clarence himſelf was ſlain by Sir Allan Swinton, a Scotch knight; the earls of Somerſet, Dorſet, and Huntingdon were taken priſoners. Charles received with tranſport the news of this firſt advantage which he had obtained over the arms of his enemies; and to reward the ſervices of the earl of Buchan, he beſtowed on him the ſword of conſtable.

But his exultation ſoon faded on the arrival of Henry: The king of England was received in Paris by the acclamations of the citizens; and he immediately led his army to t relief of Chartres, which was beſieged by the dauphin. That prince was compelled to retire before the ſuperior numbers of his rival, who purſued him as far as Orleans. On his return he received the ſubmiſſion of Dreux; and at the requeſt of the Pariſians beſieged Meaux: It was obſtinately defended by the baſtard of Varus, as renowned for his bravery as he was deteſted for his inhumanity. He had ignominiouſly executed all the Engliſh

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and adherents of the duke of Burgundy who fell into his hands. His deſpair protracted his fate for eight months: At length Meaux ſurrendered; and Henry immediately commanded the governor to be ſuſpended from a neighbouring tree, the inſtrument of his former barbarities.

At Paris, a ſolemn proceſs was inſtituted againſt the dauphin for the murder of the duke of Burgundy: He was ſummoned to appear before a tribunal of his enemies; his abſence was conſtrued into a proof of his guilt; and he was pronounced incapable of ſucceeding to the crown. This ſentence was ſoon after followed by the intelligence that queen Catharine was delivered of a ſon at Windſor; the event was celebrated by equal rejoicings at Paris and at London; the royal infant, who was baptized by the name of his father, Henry, was conſidered as the ſucceſſor to both kingdoms, and ſeemed to extinguiſh even the hopes of the dauphin. That prince, chaſed beyond the Loire, deſerted entirely by the northern provinces, deſtitute of treaſures and troops to oppoſe his proſperous competitor, prepared to meet with fortitude the deſtruction which it ſeemed impoſſible to avoid; when he was preſerved by one of thoſe fortunate incidents which ſo often baffle the plans of the moſt profound policy, and decide the fate of empires.

Henry

Henry had determined to open the A. D. 1422.
enſuing campaign with the invaſion of Picardy, and appeared in the field early in the month of July. The united forces of the Engliſh and Burgundians threatened to overwhelm all oppoſition: But while he halted at Senlis, to allow the earl of Warwic time to ſcour the adjacent country, he was recalled to Paris by the intelligence that the fickle citizens wavered in their allegiance, and had already entered into a correſpondence with the dauphin to betray the capital into his power. The unexpected appearance of Henry confounded their intrigues, and commanded their obedience. The king of England immediately returned to Senlis, to preſs the operations of war; where, amidſt the pride of victory, and the proſpect of dominion, he was attacked by a complaint, which the ignorance of the age rendered mortal. A fiſtula with which he was ſeized, ſoon terminated in a mortification; and Henry, ſenſible of his approaching end, devoted, with manly firmneſs, the few remaining moments of life to the concerns of his kingdom and his family, and to the pious duties of religion.

To the duke of Bedford, his elder brother, he left the regency of France; that of England he committed to the duke of Gloceſter, his younger

ther; and to the earl of Warwick he entruſted the important care of his ſon's perſon and education. He entreated theſe noblemen to continue to his infant offſpring the fidelity and attachment which he himſelf had always experienced from them; he expreſſed his confidence that the final acquiſition of France would be the effect of their prudence and valour; he recommended to them to maintain the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy; never to give liberty to the French priſoners taken at Azincourt, till his ſon was of age, and could hold the reins of government himſelf: And he conjured them, if the ſucceſs of their arms ſhould not enable them to place young Henry on the throne of France, never to make peace with that kingdom, unleſs Charles of Valois, for ſo he termed the dauphin, ſhould conſent at leaſt to annex Normandy to the crown of England, as ſome compenſation for the enterpriſes he had engaged in, and for the pretenſions which they would relinquiſh.

After having thus delivered his advice to the nobles whom he honoured with his friendſhip, the dying monarch aſſiduouſly applied himſelf to his devotions, and declared his ſerious intention, when he had completely ſubdued France, to have marched againſt the infidels, and attempted the recovery of the Holy Land. Even the mind of

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Henry, ſtrong and penetrating as it was, had not eſcaped the prejudices of a martial and ſuperſtitious age; and he hoped to atone for the crimes of his father, and the bloody conſequences of his own ambition, by again deluging Paleſtine with the blood of unbelievers: Conſoled by this pious reſolution, with the calmeſt tranquillity he expired in the tenth year of his reign and the thirty-fourth year of his age.

As the ſucceſsful invader, and the nominal regent of France, the character of Henry commands our attention; his abilities were equally diſtinguiſhed in the field and the cabinet; and while we admire the boldneſs of his enterpriſes, we cannot refuſe our praiſe to the ſkilful manner in which they were conducted: His affability attached to his ſervice his friends, his addreſs and clemency vanquiſhed his enemies. The unceaſing attention which he paid to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the ſevere diſcipline which he preſerved in his armies, alleviated the calamities of the inceſſant hoſtilities by which France and England were agitated during his ſhort and ſplendid reign. He received into favour the earl of Marche, who had a better title to the crown of England than himſelf; and that nobleman ſafely confided in the friendſhip of a monarch, above the low jealouſies which ſo frequently reſide in royal boſoms. One frailty only

ſeems to have alloyed the purity of his character; but it was the blemiſh of a great and noble mind; the love of arms and military glory.

A. D. 1422. The unhappy Charles, the father-in-law of Henry, ſurvived him only fifty-ſix days: The dawn of his underſtanding had preſented the faireſt proſpect to his ſubjects; but it was overcaſt by the clouds of inſanity; and he tranſient return of reaſon ſerved only to expoſe to him the infamy of his conſort, the miſery of his people, and his own wretchedneſs. After the death of the ducheſs of Orleans, his queen preſented to him another miſtreſs, who ſoon acquired the ſame aſcendancy over him. Odette de Champdivers was daughter to a dealer in horſes; young, lively, and beautiful, ſhe alone had any influence over the diſtracted Charles, who cohabited with her, and even had by her a daughter, named Margaret de Valois, whom his ſucceſſor acknowledged as his ſiſter, and liberally portioned. In the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign, Charles was diſmiſſed from a life of miſery to the grave: His laſt moments were ſoothed only by a ſingle gentleman of the bed-chamber, a confeſſor, and an almoner; and the ceremony of his funeral was haſtily performed without the honours due to his rank, or the attendance of the princes of his blood.

Chapte

Chapter the Seventeenth.

CHARACTER OF CHARLES THE SEVENTH.—CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.—BATTLES OF CREVANT AND VERNEUIL.—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DUKES OF BURGUNDY AND GLOCESTER. — SIEGE OF ORLEANS. — BATTLE OF HERRINGS. — ACCOUNT OF JOAN D'ARC, SURNAMED THE MAID OF ORLEANS; — ENTERS ORLEANS, AND STORMS THE ENTRENCHMENTS OF THE ENGLISH.—THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS RAISED.

IT is the celebrated remark of a profound hiſtorian, "that there is in all "governments an ultimate point of depreſſion "and elevation, at which affairs revert and re- "turn in a contrary direction;" and the juſtice of the obſervation is ſtrongly exemplified in that æra of the French monarchy which is the immediate object of our attention. Great part of the nobility of France had periſhed on the fatal plains A. D. 1422.

of Azincourt; her princes were the captives of the victors, or had drawn their hoſtile ſwords againſt each other; her provinces were ravaged, her treaſures exhauſted, and her cities depopulated. The feeble age of Henry the Sixth, at the deceaſe of his father only nine months old, was ſupplied by the integrity, the ability, and the experience of his two uncles, the dukes of Bedford and Gloceſter. On the former, the adminiſtration of France was devolved; his prudence, his valour, and his generoſity qualified him for the important truſt; he was ſeconded by the moſt renowned generals of the age, and was at the head of armies enured to victory, while the whole power of England was at his command; and the northern provinces of France, already reduced to ſubmiſſion, contributed their effort to involve the remainder of the kingdom in the ſame ſubjection.

The ſame meſſenger which imparted to the dauphin the news of his father's death, added the unwelcome tidings that Henry of Lancaſter had been ſolemnly proclaimed at Paris, king of England and France. A fugitive in the mountains of Auvergne, attended only by ſome princes of the blood, and a few brave adventurers, Charles heſitated not to aſſume a title to which he had ſo juſt a claim; he was ſaluted king by his faithful

ful band of adherents; and, in the twentieth year of his age, crowned at Poictiers; Rheims, the uſual place for that ceremony, being then in the hands of the Engliſh. But amidſt the diſtreſſes which ſurrounded him, to maintain the dignity of his new ſtation required every exertion of prudence and activity; ſo extreme was his penury, that by the ſale of his royal conſort's plate and jewels he could ſcarce ſupply the immediate demands for his dreſs and table. A powerful and proſperous monarchy was armed againſt him; his own capital, with the moſt deſirable provinces of his kingdom, refuſed their allegiance; and even thoſe who by the ties of blood and nature were bound to ſupport him, were cloſely leagued with his enemies. His kinſman, Philip, duke of Burgundy, purſued him as the aſſaſſin of his father; and his mother Iſabella aſſailed his life with unwearied rage and unnatural enmity.

Yet ſome rays of hope gleamed through the clouds of adverſity which darkened his acceſſion. He was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy; all zealous Frenchmen conſidered his eſtabliſhment as the teſt of the independence of their country; the act of excluſion which had paſſed at Paris, was regarded with juſt contempt; the injuries which France had ſuffered in a long courſe of hoſtilities, inflamed the minds of the

inhabitants againſt the Engliſh, and taught them to look up to Charles as their deliverer: They beheld the implacability of Iſabella with horror; and they loaded the duke of Burgundy with reproaches for ſacrificing the intereſts of his country to his private reſentments.

The character of Charles the Seventh began about this time to unfold itſelf. The guilt of Montereau was loſt in a diſpoſition which on every other occaſion ſeemed diſtinguiſhed by its benignity and generoſity. Eaſy and familiar in his manners, he ſecured the love of thoſe who approached his preſence; mild and forgiving, his pardon was readily extended to thoſe who had even inſulted his perſon and his throne. Though the love of pleaſure might ſometimes triumph over the duties of his ſtation, yet on great emergencies, and in the hour of danger, he diſplayed a ſpirit which attracted the admiration of a gallant people. A few days before the death of his father, he was preſerved from deſtruction by an accident which impreſſed his followers with the moſt auſpicious hopes, and the viſible protection of a Divine Providence. The room in which he was giving audience at Rochelle ſuddenly fell in; many were killed, moſt were wounded; but the chair of the dauphin, in its deſcent, was intercepted by a thick wall, on which it fortunately

nately reſted; and he remained unhurt amidſt the general tumult and diſtraction.

The attention of his adverſary, the duke of Bedford, immediately on the death of his brother, had been prudently directed to ſtrengthen the intereſts of the Engliſh by new alliances. The provinces which they had already ſubdued, lay between the dominions of the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany; and the friendſhip of the latter was an object of the higheſt importance. He had already been repeatedly diſguſted by the miniſters of Charles, and had acceded to the treaty of Troyes: His brother, the count of Richemont, who had been taken priſoner at the battle of Azincourt, poſſeſſed an unbounded influence over him. The regent releaſed the count from his parole, on which he had been permitted by Henry the Fifth to viſit his native country; he perſuaded the duke of Burgundy, whoſe younger ſiſter he himſelf had married, to beſtow on him the hand of his eldeſt ſiſter, the widow of the deceaſed dauphin Lewis, the elder brother of Charles; and endeavoured to ſecure him by the prevalent motives of intereſt to ſecond the efforts of the Engliſh arms. A. D. 1423.

To theſe negociations ſucceeded the operations of war. Charles, ſtill deſirous of employing his enemies in the provinces north of the Loire, conteſted

conteſted every caſtle with politic obſtinacy. He had been lately reinforced by numbers of the Scots; and John Stuart, conſtable of Scotland, with the lord of Eſtiſſac, had formed the ſiege of Crevant in Burgundy. The earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk marched to its relief; the beſiegers were routed, with the loſs of above a thouſand men; and the conſtable of Scotland, with the count of Ventadour, were taken priſoners. This victory was attended by the capture of Gaillon upon the Seine, and la Charité upon the Loire; and the paſſage of that river ſeemed opened to the Engliſh.

A. D. 1424. Charles was ſenſible that the war could not long be protracted if the ſouthern provinces were expoſed to the ravages of his enemies; the late defeat had not broken his ſpirit, or induced him to relinquiſh a ſyſtem, the propriety of which he was ſo well aſſured of. The duke of Bedford had been for three months engaged in the ſiege of Yvri in Normandy; and the governor finding his reſources exhauſted, had agreed to ſurrender the town, unleſs relieved by a certain day. The king of France hoped by a ſucceſsful enterpriſe to reſtore the luſtre of his arms, and to preſerve Yvri. He collected with diligence, although with difficulty, an army of fourteen thouſand men, of whom one half were Scots;

Scots; and entruſted it to the valour and experience of the earl of Buchan, conſtable of France, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the defeat of the duke of Clarence. That general was accompanied by the earl of Douglas, the duke of Alençon, the mareſchal de la Fayette, the count of Aumale, and the viſcount Narbonne. He arrived too late to ſuccour Yvri, which had already opened her gates; but he immediately inveſted Verneuil, and poſſeſſed himſelf of it by the levity of the inhabitants. He had ſcarce time to ſecure his new conqueſt before he was informed of the approach of the duke of Bedford. A council of war was immediately aſſembled to determine what conduct they ſhould purſue. In vain did the moſt experienced French officers urge the glory they had already attained, in an acquiſition no leſs important than the place which they had been ſent to relieve; in vain did they remonſtrate on the imprudence of hazarding an army, the laſt reſource of their king; the Scots rejected with contempt the indignity of retiring before the Engliſh; their opinion was eſpouſed by the raſh and preſumptuous, and they reſolved to wait the arrival of the duke of Bedford.

The armies which encountered each other near Verneuil were equally balanced in point of numbers. The earl of Buchan reſolved to expect with

with patient firmneſs the charge of the enemy; but his meaſures were diſconcerted by the impatience of the Viſcount Narbonne: That nobleman, with the troops under his immediate command, ruſhed forward to attack his adverſaries; and the conſtable, to ſupport him, was compelled to abandon the advantageous ground which he had choſen. Yet even this error did not prevent the day from being obſtinately diſputed; the Engliſh archers were broken, and rallied again with difficulty; but the cavalry, animated by the preſence and example of the duke of Bedford, charged with irreſiſtible fury. After a bloody conflict, the French, preſſed on all ſides, began gradually to retreat; and that retreat was ſoon changed into a tumultuous flight. Four thouſand of their braveſt ſoldiers, with the earls of Buchan and Douglas, the counts Aumale, Ventadour, and Narbonne, periſhed in the field. The body of the latter, as one of the murderers of the duke of Burgundy, was broken on the wheel, and afterwards expoſed on a gibbet. But the victors purchaſed their triumph at the expence of ſixteen hundred men; a loſs ſo unuſual, that the duke of Bedford forbad all rejoicings for his ſucceſs.

Verneuil capitulated the next day; and the deſtruction of Charles appeared inevitable. The equal temper with which he ſupported a ſeries of

of inceſſant misfortunes, eſtabliſhed his fame; but from the danger which threatened to overwhelm him, he could only be ſaved by the diſſenſions of his enemies. When hope was extinguiſhed, when deſpair on every ſide encompaſſed him, he was ſuddenly preſerved from ruin; and the imprudence of the Engliſh raviſhed from their graſp a conqueſt of which they deemed themſelves ſecure.

Jaqueline, counteſs of Hainault and Holland, and heireſs of thoſe provinces, had eſpouſed John, duke of Brabant, couſin-german to the duke of Burgundy: The marriage had been dictated by policy; but the maſculine ſpirit and brilliant capacity of the princeſs deſpiſed her ill-ſorted conſort, equally feeble in body and mind, and who had only attained his fifteenth year. Contempt was ſoon the parent of antipathy; and impatient of the dilatory meaſures and doubtful determination of the court of Rome, ſhe eſcaped into England, and ſolicited the protection of the duke of Gloceſter. The impetuous paſſions of that prince blinded him to the true intereſts of his country; the charms of the counteſs, the inheritance ſhe was poſſeſſed of, preſented themſelves to his view. Without waiting for a diſpenſation from the pope, without endeavouring to conciliate the duke of Burgundy, he entered into a marriage contract with

with Jaqueline, and immediately attempted to render himſelf maſter of her dominions. The duke of Burgundy reſented the injury offered to his kinſman, the duke of Brabant; he encouraged him to reſiſt the uſurpation, and allured to his ſtandard the ſubjects of Jaqueline. At length he openly declared in his favour, and marched his troops to his ſupport; while the quarrel, which at firſt was political, ſoon became perſonal, from ſome unguarded expreſſions in his correſpondence with the duke of Gloceſter.

That prince, to ſupport his pretenſions in Hainault and Holland, had intercepted the ſuccours intended for the duke of Bedford, and for the proſecution of the war in France; and the ſame diſſenſions diverted the aid which the duke of Burgundy had engaged to furniſh. In vain did the regent repreſent to his brother the danger of alienating that confederate, whoſe friendſhip was of the utmoſt importance, and whom the late king had enjoined him with his dying breath, to gratify by every mark of regard and attachment. Love and ambition occupied the ſoul of the duke of Gloceſter; he ſtill perſiſted in preſſing the war in the Low Countries; and the duke of Bedford, inſtead of improving the victory of Verneuil, was obliged to croſs the ſeas to England, that he might try, by his counſels and authority, to moderate the meaſures of his brother.

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The pope had already declared void the contract of that prince with Jaqueline; and alſo added, that in caſe of the duke of Brabant's death, ſhe ſhould not be at liberty to eſpouſe the duke of Gloceſter. Humphrey, deſpairing of ſucceſs, married another lady of inferior rank, who had lived ſome time with him as his miſtreſs. The duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before ſhe could recover the poſſeſſeſſion of her dominions, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir, in caſe ſhe ſhould die without iſſue, and to promiſe never to marry without his conſent. But the advantage which the latter prince reaped from the accommodation of theſe differences did not prevent him in future from regarding the Engliſh with jealouſy; and the ſatisfaction which the regent enjoyed from reconciling one ally, was ſoon alloyed by the unexpected deſertion of another. A. D. 1425.

The count of Richemont had ever ſhewn himſelf deſirous of being placed at the head of an army; a truſt which the duke of Bedford was by no means willing to repoſe in him. Although allied by marriage to that prince and the duke of Burgundy, theſe feeble bands were not capable of reſiſting the torrent of his military ambition. By the death of the earl of Buchan, the important poſt of conſtable of France was vacant; and Charles, informed

informed of the diſcontent of the earl of Richemont, offered him the ſword, the object of his martial deſires. The count cloſed with the propoſal; and his influence over his brother, the duke of Brittany, induced that prince to renounce his engagements with England, and to eſpouſe the cauſe of Charles the Seventh. But the king of France purchaſed this acceſſion of ſtrength by the moſt mortifying conceſſions; to gratify the duke of Brittany, he was obliged to diſmiſs his miniſter, Louvet, who had adhered to him through all the viciſſitudes of fortune; and the count of Richemont inſiſted that Tannegui de Chaſtel, the faithful companion of Charles's misfortunes, ſhould be baniſhed from his court, as the murderer of his father-in-law, the late duke of Burgundy.

A. D. 1426. An Engliſh army of three thouſand men, under the command of the earl of Warwic, during theſe political negociations, had formed the ſiege of Montargis, and that place was reduced to the laſt extremity. Charles collected a body of ſixteen hundred men, and entruſted them to a natural ſon of that duke of Orleans who had been aſſaſſinated by the duke of Burgundy. This general, who was afterwards ſo famous under the different deſcriptions of Baſtard of Orleans and count of Dunois, diſplayed in this enterpriſe the dawn of his meridian fortune and glory.

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He attacked the enemy's entrenchments with prudence, valour, and ſucceſs; penetrated into Montargis, and compelled the Engliſh to abandon the ſiege with diſgrace.

The advantages which Charles derived from having attached to his fortunes Arthur, count of Richemont, was in ſome meaſure balanced by the turbulent and ferocious temper of that haughty nobleman. The ſword of conſtable was as frequently unſheathed againſt the favourites, as againſt the enemies of the king. His miniſter, the ſeigneur de Guyac, and the Camus de Beaulieu, with the mareſchal de Bouſſac, were the ſucceſſive victims to Arthur's reſentment. But while he inſulted the dignity of the crown at Poictiers, he reſtored its authority in Normandy; and ſeveral important poſts on the frontiers of that province were recovered from the Engliſh.

The duke of Bedford had beheld A. D. 1427.
with indignation the levity or treachery with which the duke of Brittany had renounced his former engagements to enter into new ones with Charles. Immediately on his arrival in France, he ſecretly aſſembled a conſiderable army to chaſtiſe the deſertion of that prince; he ſuddenly invaded the province, unprepared for reſiſtance; he compelled the duke to renounce his late alliance with France; to ſubſcribe to the treaty of Troyes;

to acknowledge his title as regent; and to yield homage to Henry for his duchy. Succeſsful in this enterpriſe, he entered on another equally important; and determined to inveſt the city of Orleans, which, ſituated between the provinces commanded by Henry and thoſe poſſeſſed by Charles, opened an eaſy entrance to either. The army for this ſiege, which conſiſted of ten thouſand men, he entruſted to the veteran abilities of the earl of Saliſbury. The firſt motions of the Engliſh appriſed Charles of their intentions; he reinforced the garriſon, repleniſhed the magazines, and appointed as governor the lord of Gaucour, a brave and experienced captain.

A. D. 1428, 1429. The forces of the earl of Saliſbury were not ſufficiently numerous to inveſt Orleans on every ſide; and he reſolved to preſs his attacks againſt the ſouthern quarter towards Sologne, and leave that towards the Beauſſe open to the enemy: But he himſelf was killed by a cannon ball, in a ſpirited and ſucceſsful attempt on the fortifications. The command, on the death of the earl of Saliſbury, devolved on the earl of Suffolk. The army was reinforced by large bodies of the French and Burgundians; and Orleans, under his directions, was completely inveſted. The inclemency of the ſeaſon, and the rigour of winter, could not overcome the perſeverance of the

the beſiegers; a chain of forts was arduouſly conſtructed; yet the vacant ſpaces ſtill allowed ſuccours to be introduced; the garriſon, before the return of ſpring, was ſwelled by frequent ſupplies from twelve hundred to three thouſand men; and their hopes were raiſed, and their efforts encouraged, by the preſence and example of the Baſtard of Orleans.

The French themſelves, to diſtreſs the beſiegers, had ravaged and exhauſted the adjacent country; and the Engliſh were compelled to draw their ſubſiſtence from a conſiderable diſtance. A convoy of proviſions was entruſted to the conduct of Sir John Falſtoffe, with a ſelect detachment of two thouſand five hundred men. The king of France, determined to exert every nerve for the preſervation of the city, collected a body of troops, in number about four thouſand, and appointed the count of Clermont to command them. On the approach of the French, Falſtoffe drew up his men behind the waggons, and calmly received the fury of their charge. The French were broken by their own impetuoſity; five hundred periſhed on the field; and this action, from the proviſions of which the convoy was compoſed, obtained the name of the Battle of *Herrings*.

Diſappointed in his attempt to relieve Orleans by arms, the king of France now endeavoured to

preſerve it by policy. The duke of Orleans, ſtill a priſoner in England, had obtained from the duke of Gloceſter and his council the promiſe of a neutrality in his demeſnes; and that they ſhould be ſequeſtered during the war into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. But this expedient was firmly rejected by the duke of Bedford; and to the importunities of the duke of Burgundy he cooly replied, that he was not of a humour to beat the buſhes while others ran away with the game. That prince, diſguſted with his refuſal, ſeparated his forces from thoſe of the Engliſh; but the latter ſtill preſſed the ſiege with increaſe of ardour; and the jealouſy of the former might have protracted, but could not have averted the fate of Orleans; when it was preſerved by an occurrence ſo ſingular as almoſt to ſtagger belief, and which can only be received on the undoubted teſtimony of concurring and contemporary hiſtorians.

Charles, depreſſed and deſponding, had already began to meditate a retreat into Dauphiné. From this intention he was diverted by the intreaties of his queen, Mary of Anjou, a princeſs of prudence and ſpirit; and by the more perſuaſive remonſtrances of his beautiful miſtreſs, the celebrated Agnes de Soreille. That lady, in a condition which generally enervates the mind, diſplayed a

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ſoul noble and elevated; ſhe declared her reſolution, if Charles abandoned the throne of France, to ſeek in England a lover more worthy of her embraces; and Charles, ſunk in indolence and inactivity, was rouſed by her powerful eloquence to the purſuit of ambition and glory.

While he anxiouſly and hourly expected the fatal intelligence that Orleans had ſurrendered, his attention was engaged by the appearance of a village girl, deſtined to prop his falling fortunes, and reſtore to him the dominions of his anceſtors. In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, at a ſmall inn, reſided a female ſervant called Joan d'Arc; ſhe had been accuſtomed to ride the horſes of her maſter's gueſts to water; her employment and converſation with the company whom ſhe attended had given her a degree of boldneſs above her ſex; and ſhe liſtened with pleaſure to the martial atchievements, the conſtant topics of converſation in a warlike age. The calamities of her country, and the diſtreſs of her ſovereign, were the objects of her daily thoughts and nightly dreams. She was ſoon inflamed with the deſire of avenging on the Engliſh the miſery of France; and an ignorant mind might poſſibly miſtake the impulſe of her paſſions for heavenly inſpirations. She procured admiſſion to Baudrecourt, the governor of Vau-

couleurs; ſhe declared to him that ſhe had been exhorted by frequent viſions and by diſtinct voices, to atchieve the deliverance of her country; and the governor either equally credulous himſelf, or ſufficiently penetrating to foreſee the effect ſuch an enthuſiaſt might have on the minds of the vulgar, granted her an eſcort to the French court, which at that time reſided at Chinon, in Touraine.

On her arrival at Chinon, ſhe is ſaid to have diſtinguiſhed Charles from his courtiers, though diveſted of every enſign of royalty; to have revealed a ſecret to him unknown to all the world beſide himſelf; and to have demanded and deſcribed by particular marks, a ſword which ſhe had never ſeen, and which ſhe required as the inſtrument of her future victories; ſhe aſſerted that ſhe was commiſſioned to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned and anointed. Charles and his miniſters *pretended* to examine her pretenſions with ſcrupulous exactneſs: They *affected* at length to be convinced of the ſincerity of her declarations, and of her ſupernatural powers. Their opinion was ſolemnly and publicly countenanced by an aſſembly of doctors and theologians, and by the parliament of France, then reſiding at Poictiers. After repeated examinations, the miſſion of Joan d'Arc

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was pronounced to be divine; and the ſpirits of a deſpairing people were again elevated by the hope that heaven had declared itſelf in favour of France.

That Charles might avail himſelf of the enthuſiaſm of the moment, he ſent Joan to Blois, where a convoy was already provided for the relief of Orleans, and an army of ten thouſand men was collected to eſcort it. The holy maid, diſplaying in her hands a conſecrated banner, marched at the head of her troops. She had already declared her intention of entering the city by the road from the ſide of Beauſſe; but the Baſtard of Orleans, whom we ſhall hereafter ſtyle count of Dunois, unwilling entirely to truſt the operations of war to the ſuggeſtions of fanaticiſm, controlled the raſh deſign, and perſuaded Joan to approach the town on the oppoſite ſide of the Loire, where he knew the beſiegers were weakeſt.

The Engliſh had at firſt heard with contempt the preparations of Charles, and derided the heavenly commiſſion of Joan; but the minds of the common ſoldiers were inſenſibly impreſſed with holy dread, and they awaited the event with anxious horror. The earl of Suffolk, appriſed of the diſpoſition of his troops, vainly flattered himſelf that time would diſpel their terrors, and baniſh the illuſion. He determined to remain quietly

within his entrenchments, while the convoy entered the city with Joan, and the French army returned to Blois without interruption. But inaction ſerved only to confirm thoſe fears which the tumult of war might have baniſhed: The Engliſh beheld their enemies triumphant, and the predictions of Joan, who acquired the ſurname of the Maid of Orleans, in part fulfilled. A ſecond convoy ſoon after entered the city, on the ſide of Beauſſe, and was alſo ſuffered by the beſiegers to paſs without reſiſtance. The French aſſumed new ſpirits; while the Engliſh, formerly elated with victory and impatient for action, beheld the enterpriſes of their enemies in ſilent aſtoniſhment and religious conſternation.

But even this ſtate of inactivity was no longer permitted to them; the enthuſiaſm of Joan could not be reſtrained within the walls of Orleans: She exhorted the garriſon to liſten to her voice, and imitate her example. In a ſucceſsful ſally, the entrenchments of the beſiegers were ſtormed, and even the valour of the renowned Sir John Talbot ſeemed to wither at her approach. A ſecond ſally ſwept away the forts on the oppoſite ſide of the Loire; and a wound from an arrow, which in the attack was inflicted on the neck of Joan, ſerved rather to inflame the courage of the intrepid heroine. The count of Dunois conſented to ſeize the mo-

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ment of returning fortune; the Engliſh were ſucceſſively chaced from their poſts, with the loſs of above ſix thouſand men; the earl of Suffolk determined to raiſe a ſiege which he could no longer continue with a probability of ſucceſs; and the French, animated by this firſt eſſay of the holy maid, prepared to improve their advantage, and avail themſelves of the ſuperſtitious fears of their adverſaries.

Chapter the Eighteenth.

VICTORIES OF THE FRENCH.—CORONATION OF CHARLES THE SEVENTH AT RHEIMS.—MAID OF ORLEANS TAKEN PRISONER;—IS CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY RECONCILES HIMSELF TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—PARIS OPENS HER GATES TO CHARLES.—BATTLE OF CASTILLON.—THE ENGLISH ARE EXPELLED FRANCE.—DISCONTENT OF THE DAUPHIN.—RETIRES TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—DEATH OF CHARLES THE SEVENTH.

A. D. 1429. WITH the ſiege of Orleans expired the genius of the Engliſh; and their conqueſts in France, attained at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, were ſwept away by the returning tide of Charles's fortune. The earl of Suffolk, with part of his forces, had retired to Jergeau; he was there inveſted by the French, animated by the preſence of Joan, and in ten days the

the town was taken by aſſault, and Suffolk himſelf made priſoner. The conſtable Richemont preſſed the remnant of the Engliſh, who endeavoured to retreat under the conduct of Falſtoffe, Scales, and Talbot: They were overtaken at the village of Patay; oppreſſed by their fears, they ſcarce awaited the charge of their enemies; the example of flight was given by Falſtoffe himſelf, who had ſo lately triumphed at the battle of Herrings; two thouſand of his ſoldiers were ſlaughtered on the field; and among the captives of Richemont were Talbot and Scales.

The Maid of Orleans had fulfilled part of her promiſe by raiſing the ſiege of that city; but a more arduous enterpriſe remained to conduct the king to receive his crown at Rheims. The city itſelf lay diſtant from any place poſſeſſed by Charles; it was in the hands of the Engliſh; and the whole road which led to it was occupied by their garriſons. Yet Joan inſiſted on the execution of her miſſion; the king himſelf ſhook off his general indolence, and reſolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike propheteſs; the nobility of France crowded to the ſtandard of their youthful ſovereign, who began his march at the head of twelve thouſand men; he paſſed without interruption through an enemy's country; received in his progreſs the ſubmiſſion of Troyes; was inſtantly

inſtantly admitted into Rheims; and in that city was ſolemnly inaugurated, the Maid of Orleans ſtanding by his ſide in complete armour, and diſplaying, during the ceremony, her holy banner. The claim of Charles from his coronation at Rheims, received new luſtre; and Laon, Soiſſons, Chateau-Thierri, Provins, and many other towns in the neighbourhood diſputed the honour of firſt acknowledging the authority of their lawful ſovereign.

A. D. 1430. The prudence of Bedford had been conſtantly exerted to ſtem the torrent; nor was his character ever diſplayed to more advantage than amidſt the ſtorms of adverſity. He reinforced the garriſons of the different towns, repleniſhed their magazines, and over-awed the inclinations of the inhabitants ripe for revolt. The Pariſians were retained in obedience by alternate careſſes and menaces; and his arts ſoothed the angry paſſions of the duke of Burgundy, and deferred the fatal hour of his defection. The biſhop of Wincheſter, his uncle, had landed in Calais with a body of five thouſand men, which he was conducting into Bohemia, on a cruſade againſt the Huſſites. The duke of Bedford prevailed on him to prop the declining cauſe of Henry with theſe ſuccours; at the head of them he oppoſed the king of France, advancing towards the gates of Paris.

Paris. But ſtill doubtful of the confidence of his own troops, while he ſeemed to face the enemy he choſe his poſts with ſo much care and diſcernment, that Charles in vain endeavoured to compel him to a deciſive action. Haraſſed by the vigilance of the regent, the army of France, which had been compoſed chiefly of volunteers, at length diſbanded; Charles, after having poſſeſſed himſelf of Compiegne, Beauvais, Senlis, Sens, Laval, Lagni, and St. Denys, retired to Bourges; and Bedford invited Henry the Sixth to Paris; celebrated the ceremony of his coronation in that capital; and exacted an oath of allegiance from the vaſſals of the crown, who lived within the provinces which acknowledged the authority of the Engliſh.

Whatever luſtre the coronation of the infant Henry might reflect on his cauſe, A. D. 1431. the regent expected to derive more ſolid advantage from an accident which placed within his power the author of his late diſgraces and defeats. Joan d'Arc had declared, that with the inauguration of Charles at Rheims, her miſſion expired; and that it was her wiſh, after having fulfilled her promiſes, to retire to her former condition. The count of Dunois had exhorted her to perſevere till the Engliſh were finally expelled. Overcome by his importunities, ſhe had thrown herſelf into Compeigne,

peigne, which at that time was beſieged by the duke of Burgundy, aſſiſted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. In a ſally on the quarters of John of Luxembourg, ſhe was deſerted by her friends, ſurrounded by her enemies, and after a gallant reſiſtance taken priſoner. She is ſuppoſed to have been betrayed by the baſe envy of the French, who repined at every ſucceſs being aſcribed to her influence; and the neglect of Charles, who made not the ſlighteſt effort to procure her releaſe, proves that he no longer expected to derive any benefit from the inſtrument he had adopted.

The duke of Bedford purchaſed from John of Luxembourg his important captive, and commenced a proſecution againſt her, which whether undertaken from policy or revenge, ſtains with barbarity his accompliſhed character. As a priſoner of war, Joan was entitled to the courteſy of good uſage, practiſed by civilized nations; and in her military capacity ſhe never had been impeached of acting with treachery or cruelty. But her enemies were inexorable; and to diſguiſe the ſource of their enmity, they prevailed on the biſhop of Beauvais, a prelate looſe in his principles, and wholly devoted to their intereſts, to proſtitute the ſacred name of religion to the perſecution they meditated. The biſhop pretended that Joan had been taken in his dioceſe, and deſired

ſired to have her tried by an eccleſiaſtical court for ſorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic. The univerſity of Paris diſgraced itſelf by joining the requeſt: But Joan for a long time defended herſelf with manly firmneſs; ſhe acknowledged her intention to expel in the Engliſh the invaders of her country; and replied, that ſhe ſubmitted her inſpirations, which her judges urged as magical, to God, the fountain of truth. But ſhe was already prejudged; her revelations were declared to be the inventions of the devil to delude the people; and ſhe was ſentenced to be delivered over to the ſecular arm. It is with indignation the reader muſt peruſe her fate; after relieving her country from the oppreſſive yoke of its enemies; after reſtoring her prince to his native throne, and his ſubjects to their freedom, the Maid of Orleans was condemned to be burned in the market-place of Rouen: The inhuman ſentence was ſoon after executed, and the unhappy victim was delivered alive to the flames.

But the inhumanity of the Engliſh contributed not to advance their intereſts: The illuſion which had ſo long oppreſſed them with terror was indeed diſpelled, but the tide of fortune ſtill continued to flow rapidly againſt them; the French triumphed in repeated and ſucceſſive encounters, which though of ſmall A. D. 1433, 1434.

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conſequence in themſelves, ſerved to confirm their confidence, and proclaim an approaching revolution. This event was accelerated by a rupture between the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford. The bands of friendſhip had been looſened by the death of the ducheſs of the latter; and the former complained, that the memory of his ſiſter was inſulted by the haſty marriage of the regent with Jaqueline of Luxembourgh. All advances toward a reconciliation were diſdained by two princes equally tenacious of their dignity; and Charles availed himſelf of the diſcontent of the duke of Burgundy to negociate the celebrated treaty, ſince known by the name of the treaty of Arras.

A. D. 1435. The Engliſh were invited to join the Congreſs at St. Vaaſt, and the cardinal of Wincheſter appeared as the ambaſſador of Henry; but the pretenſions of the court of London admitted not yet of accommodation; and the cardinal of Wincheſter ſcarce deigned to anſwer the offer of Guienne and Normandy, loaded with the uſual ſtipulation of homage to the crown of France. The claims of the duke of Burgundy were liſtened to with greater condeſcenſion; the conditions were dictated by the commanding ſituation of Philip, and ſubſcribed by the neceſſities of Charles. Beſides making repeated atonements and

and acknowledgments for the murder of the duke's father, the king of France ceded to him all the towns of Picardy which lay between the Somme and the low countries; he agreed that theſe, and all the other dominions of Philip, ſhould be held by him during his life, without doing any homage, or ſwearing fealty to the preſent king; and he freed his ſubjects from all obligations to allegiance, if ever he infringed this treaty. But ſtill more to flatter the paſſions of Philip, Charles ſubmitted to the mortification of diſmiſſing his faithful ſervant Tannegui de Chaſtel from his court and preſence.

By theſe conceſſions, a formidable enemy was converted into an important ally. The Engliſh had inſulted an herald whom the duke of Burgundy had ſent to that court to notify the treaty of Arras; and Philip, impatient to ſignalize his ſervices in the cauſe of France, affected to reſent the indignity, aſſembled his forces, and prepared to attack the Engliſh, whom he now regarded as dangerous and implacable enemies. A few days after the treaty of Arras, the duke of Bedford expired; a prince whoſe virtuous memory is only blemiſhed by the execution of the Maid of Orleans: A little before him, Iſabella, queen dowager of France, breathed her laſt, univerſally deteſted and deſpiſed. The court of London, after the death of

Bedford, was divided by the factions of the duke of Gloceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter: Their diſſentions prevented them from embracing any ſalutary meaſure; and a conſiderable ſpace intervened before the duke of York was appointed to ſucceed the late regent.

A. D. 1436, 1438. Paris, always attached to the Houſe of Burgundy, followed the example of that duke; opened her gates to the count of Richemont, and proclaimed Charles the Seventh. The Engliſh governor ſtill defended himſelf in the Baſtile, and at length obtained a capitulation which permitted him to retire to Rouen. This acquiſition reſtored the conſtable to the favour of his ſovereign, which he had forfeited by violently ſeizing the miniſter le Tremouille. On the recovery of his capital, the king of France negociated a marriage for his ſon the dauphin with Margaret, daughter to James the Second, king of Scotland; but the nuptial rejoicings were interrupted by the intelligence that the duke of Gloceſter had compelled the duke of Burgundy to raiſe the ſiege of Calais; and had avenged the inſult by extending his devaſtations over the province of Artois. The duke of York landed alſo in Normandy with a conſiderable reinforcement; while the diſcontents in Holland and Hainault demanded the attention of Philip, and recalled him from the effectual ſupport of his new allies.

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The inclemency of winter did not prevent the contending parties from continuing the operations of war; Pontoiſe, on the ſide of the Engliſh, was ſurpriſed by lord Talbot, who was afterwards created earl of Shrewſbury; Montreau on the Seine was inveſted by Charles, accompanied by the conſtable: That town was taken after an obſtinate defence; and the king of France in the aſſault diſplayed a valour becoming his royal birth and dignity. He had before reſiſted the ſolicitations of his parliament to return to Paris, determined firſt to efface by ſome martial atchievement the unfavourable impreſſions which his indolence had occaſioned. He now entered his capital amidſt the merited acclamations of his people; yet, after an abſence of nineteen years, he was again compelled to abandon it. Famine and peſtilence united ſeverely to humble the exultation of the inhabitants: War had extinguiſhed the ſeeds of induſtry and the appearance of affluence; and the ſtreets, deſtitute of citizens, afforded a ſecure refuge to the hungry wolves, which, fearleſs and rapacious, paſſed over the frozen Seine.

At Bourges, on the other ſide of the Loire, Charles received ambaſſadors from the council of Baſil, which had quarrelled with Pope Eugenius the Fifth; and in an aſſembly compoſed of the princes of the blood and the A. D. 1439.

dignified clergy, he cauſed the regulations of that council to be examined. Theſe he compiled into a law, to which he gave the name of the Pragmatic Sanction; and which ever ſince has been conſidered as the bulwark of the Gallican church, as it deprived the ſee of Rome from nominating to eccleſiaſtical dignities, and granting reverſions, penſions, and exemptions, within the monarchy of France.

A. D. 1440. A fruitleſs negociation for peace had been propoſed under the auſpices of the ducheſs of Burgundy; and the conſtable, in an attempt on Avranches, was ſurpriſed and defeated by lord Talbot. The king, to efface this diſgrace, commanded his army to be kept in a ſtate of continual preparation: But the nobles of France were impatient of diſcipline, and they already began to cabal againſt a ſovereign who ſeemed determined to maintain his authority. The dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, and the count of Dunois, with the late miniſter le Tremouille, all jealous of the influence of the conſtable, entered into the confederacy; the dauphin, then ſcarce eighteen, was induced to ſtrengthen it by his name: But the conſpirators, by the advice of the count of Richemont, who prevailed on the king to march in perſon at the head of a ſmall body of forces, were ſurpriſed in the city of Blois The count of Dunois had already deſerted to the

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ſtandard of his royal maſter; the dukes of Bourbon and Alençon ſubmitted; and the dauphin reluctantly returned to the duty he owed to his father and his king. Yet the ſatisfaction of Charles was ſeldom long without alloy; after a dreary captivity of twenty-five years, the duke of Orleans was reſtored to liberty, on the payment of a ranſom of three hundred thouſand crowns; the greateſt part of which was ſupplied by the liberality of the duke of Burgundy, deſirous of extinguiſhing by this act of generoſity the unhappy diſſentions which had prevailed between the two families. But the king of France regarded the reconciliation of theſe nobles with an eye of jealouſy; and the duke of Orleans, diſſatisfied with his coldneſs, retired in diſguſt to his own eſtates.

The ſame ſpirit which the king had ſhewn in the attack of Montreau, he A. D. 1441. diſplayed with equal ſucceſs in the aſſault of Pontoiſe: He mounted the breach in perſon, and entered the town at the head of his troops. But from the reduction of Poitou he was recalled by a new confederacy, formed by the dukes of Orleans, Burgundy and Brittany, Alençon, and Bourbon. The king liſtened to their grievances with temper and moderation; he conciliated the duke of Orleans by the preſent of a conſiderable ſum towards the payment of his ranſom; and the diſcontent or

that prince once aſſuaged, the conſpiracy diſſolved in its own weakneſs.

A. D. 1442. Harfleur, during theſe tranſactions, was inveſted and vigorouſly preſſed by the Engliſh. To the relief of it Charles detached the dauphin, with a powerful army. The young prince broke through the lines of the beſiegers, and compelled them to abandon the enterpriſe. Entruſted with the government of Gaſcony, he repreſſed by his vigilance and deciſion the turbulent practices of the count of Armagnac, whoſe ambition had induced him to enter into an alliance with Henry the Sixth; but the meaſures of the dauphin were ſo judiciouſly planned, and executed with ſo much alacrity, that the count was induced to abandon his new connexions, and to humble himſelf before his offended ſovereign.

A. D. 1443. The diſorders which on every ſide diſtracted the French government, and which time alone could remedy, continually inclined the wiſhes of Charles to peace; and Henry the Sixth of England, a monarch feeble, meek, and ſuperſtitious, concealed not his deſire to extinguiſh the deſtructive flames of war. Yet the pretenſions of the rival nations admitted not of laſting tranquillity; a ſuſpenſion of arms for twenty-two months was the temporizing expedient adopted; and this term, which left both parties

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in poſſeſſion of what they then occupied, was afterwards prolonged by mutual agreement. The earl of Suffolk, who acted as the ambaſſador of Henry, concluded at the ſame time the marriage of his ſovereign with Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Reignier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem; a princeſs of maſculine ſpirit and enterpriſing temper; and whoſe alliance was the ſource of deſtruction to Suffolk, and of infinite calamities to his country.

The interval from war Charles had aſſiduouſly employed in reſtoring the ſplendour of his capital, and the agriculture of the provinces: He laboured to recall the advantages of commerce, and to eſtabliſh the adminiſtration of juſtice; he introduced order into the finances, and diſcipline among his troops; he repreſſed the factions of his court, and revived the languid ſpirit of induſtry. He prudently paſſed in ſilence the levity of the Genoeſe, who had demanded his aſſiſtance, and afterwards refuſed to admit his troops; and he declined ſupporting the pretenſions of the duke of Orleans to Milan, who, if ſeconded by the power of France, might probably have poſſeſſed himſelf of that duchy: But he interfered with vigour on another occaſion. On the marriage of Henry of England to Margaret, the province of Maine had A. D. 1444, 1448.

been promiſed to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle. The court of London had ſtudiouſly delayed the reſtoration of that county; but Charles inſtantly ordered the count of Dunois, at the head of an army well diſciplined and well provided, to enter the province, and expel the Engliſh. Mans, after a gallant reſiſtance, was compelled to capitulate; and, with its dependencies, was for ever alienated from the crown of England.

A. D. 1449. Surienne, the governor of Mans, with the troops under his command, amounting to two thouſand five hundred men, had retired towards Normandy; but the duke of Somerſet, to whom the provinces of France ſtill occupied by the Engliſh were entruſted, either from want of capacity or inclination to ſubſiſt this additional army, refuſed to admit him. That military adventurer immediately directed his march towards Brittany, and ſeized the town of Fougeres. The duke of Brittany, unable to reſiſt him, complained to the king of France, his liege lord: Charles, informed of the diſtracted councils of England, acquainted with the weak diſpoſition of Henry, and ſenſible that the political health of his country was in a great meaſure reſtored by the late reſpite from war, determined to ſeize the favourable opportunity to invade Normandy. He demanded ſatisfaction for the damages the duke of

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Brittanny had ſuſtained from the ravages of Surienne; and to enſure a refuſal, he eſtimated thoſe damages at one million ſix hundred thouſand crowns. The incapacity of Henry to comply with this exorbitant demand was the ſignal for war; and four formidable armies entered Normandy at once. The firſt was commanded by the king of France himſelf; the ſecond, by the duke of Brittany; a third, by the duke of Alençon; and a fourth, by the count of Dunois.

The inhabitants of Normandy received the invaders with friendly arms; the towns ſcarce waited a ſummons to open their gates; Verneuil, Nogent, Chateau Gaillard, Giſors, Mante, Vernon, Argentan, Coutances, &c. hailed with acclamations their lawful ſovereign; and Charles, with an army of fifteen thouſand men, invaded the duke of Somerſet in Rouen. The tumultuous clamours of the citizens demanded a capitulation. Somerſet, overwhelmed by ſecret and open enemies, retired with his forces into the caſtle and palace, reſolved to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. But his valour was rendered ineffectual by the prudence of the king of France; who contented himſelf with ſurrounding him on every ſide, and awaiting the effect of famine. The preſſure of want ſoon compelled the Engliſh to capitulate: A retreat to Harfleur was purchaſed by A. D. 1449, 1450.

by the payment of fifty-ſix thouſand crowns, and by an engagement to ſurrender Arques, Caudebec, Honfleur, and other places in Normandy. The earl of Shrewſbury, a general whoſe fortune and conduct the French moſt feared, was delivered as a hoſtage for the faithful performance of theſe conditions; and as the governor of Honfleur rejected the terms, was detained by the French, who, under the command of the count of Dunois, inveſted and poſſeſſed themſelves of Harfleur. In the next campaign four thouſand Engliſh were landed at Cherbourg, under the conduct of Sir Thomas Kyriel; theſe were routed by the count of Clermont at Fourmigny. The duke of Somerſet was again reduced to capitulate in Caen; Falaiſe opened its gates, on condition that the earl of Shrewſbury ſhould be reſtored to liberty; and the ſurrender of Cherbourg, the laſt place which remained to the Engliſh, completed the final conqueſt of Normandy.

A. D. 1451, 1453. The progreſs of the count of Dunois in Guienne was almoſt equally rapid. To preſerve that province, the earl of Shrewſbury had landed with five thouſand men; but he was compelled againſt his better judgment, by the impatient clamours of the citizens of Bourdeaux, to hazard the battle of Caſtillon. Oppreſſed by ſuperior numbers, he diſdained to ſurvive a defeat

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ſo fatal to the hopes of his country, and fell with his youthful ſon, reſpected and lamented by the victors. Bourdeaux, diſmayed at his fate, engaged to open her gates, if not relieved within a certain time. But all concern for France was now ſwallowed up in the commotions which afflicted England, and ſhook the throne of Henry: No ſuccour was ſent; and Bourdeaux acknowledged the authority of Charles the Seventh. Bayonne followed the example; and the province of Guienne, after a period of three centuries, was ultimately re-united to the crown of France.

But while the epithet of *victorious* was attached to the name of Charles; A. D. 1450. while the fortune of the monarch was envied and admired, his feelings as a father were moſt deeply and mortally wounded. The intrigues of the dauphin had already impeded his career of conqueſt; his reſentment had aſſailed the miniſters of his cabinet, and proved more fatal to Agnes Sorelle, the beloved miſtreſs of the king. His enmity to that amiable female, whoſe influence was inceſſantly exerted to excite her royal lover to deeds of glory and martial atchievements, was public and undiſguiſed; and the ſuſpicious circumſtances which accompany the death of Agnes, afford but too much reaſon to believe that poiſon

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was adminiſtered to her by the expreſs command of Lewis. In oppoſition to his father's poſitive injunctions, that prince had eſpouſed as his ſecond wife, Charlotte, daughter to the duke of Savoy; and Charles reſented the contempt by a declaration of war againſt Savoy, which he was perſuaded to recall, that he might proſecute the reduction of Guienne.

A. D. 1453, 1456. But the former extenſive poſſeſſions of the Engliſh in France were now confined to the walls of Calais; and Charles, weary of the diſobedience of his ſon, and irritated at the exactions which he practiſed in the county of Dauphiny, commiſſioned Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, to ſeize his perſon. Lewis, informed of the deſign, and hopeleſs of protection from his father-in-law, the duke of Savoy, precipitately withdrew into Franche Comte, and afterwards continued his rout into Brabant. The duke of Burgundy was no ſooner apprized of his arrival, than he ſent his ſon, the count of Charolois, to wait on him, ſupplied his neceſſities with a liberal hand, and gave orders that he ſhould be treated with every mark of reſpect. But Philip, who from the mild tenor of his latter conduct, had attained the enviable appellation of *Good*, refuſed to ſee him till he had obtained

obtained the approbation of his father. Lewis having in vain endeavoured to prevail on that prince to ſupply him with an army to diſturb the government of Charles, retired to the caſtle of Guaneppe, near Bruſſels, which the duke of Burgundy had allotted for his reſidence, and where he aſſigned him the princely penſion of twelve thouſand crowns; while Lewis, ever reſtleſs and malevolent, employed his leiſure hours in ſowing the ſeeds of diſcontent between his benefactor and his ſon, the count of Charolois.

Arthur, count of Richemont and conſtable of France, had by the death of his nephew acquired the duchy of Britanny; but the ſatisfaction which the king might derive from the advancement of that prince, who when his capricious paſſions intervened not had faithfully adhered to him, was imbittered by the treaſonable intrigues of the duke of Alençon. That haughty chief, diſguſted at the coldneſs with which the king regarded his pretenſions to Fougeres, a town occupied by the duke of Brittany, entered into a negociation with England. His wild deſigns, which threatened the tranquillity of Normandy, were detected; and Charles in anguiſh, exclaimed, "In whom can I now put my truſt, "when the very princes of my own blood con- "ſpire againſt me?" The duke was immediately A. D. 1457.

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arreſted, tried, and condemned by a ſentence of the parliament: At the requeſt of the duke of Brittany, his puniſhment of death was commuted to perpetual impriſonment; and the caſtle of Loches was aſſigned as the ſeat of his captivity.

A. D. 1458, 1460. The dauphin and the duke of Burgundy were both ſuſpected of having countenanced the deſigns of the duke of Alençon; but the domeſtic peace of Philip was ſoon wounded by the arts of Lewis, and the ambition of his own ſon, the count of Charolois. The king of France was actuated by compaſſion to eſpouſe the party of Henry the Sixth, deſpoiled of the crown of England by the triumphant Houſe of York; the count of Charolois offered to command the forces intended for this enterpriſe. But under this pretence, he endeavoured to conceal his deſign of arming againſt the authority of his father. His intention was penetrated by Charles; and the expreſſion of that monarch marks an honeſt deteſtation of the crime, and eſtabliſhes the moderation of his own character; "For two ſuch "kingdoms as my own, I would not have the "leaſt participation in ſo unworthy an action." But he beheld with diſtruſt the reſidence of the dauphin in the dominions of the duke of Burgundy; and it is not improbable that he entertained an inclination to deprive his ungrateful ſon of

of the ſucceſſion, when a life of ſixty and a reign of thirty-nine years were extinguiſhed by a death equally ſingular and lamentable.

The dauphin's vindictive ſpirit and unnatural diſpoſition had inſpired Charles with continual ſuſpicions. Repeated informations pointed out the domeſtics of the king as the aſſociates of that prince, againſt the the life of his father. The wretched monarch, jealous of all, and ignorant whoſe attachment to rely on, obſtinately refuſed to receive any nouriſhment during ſome days; and when the importunity of his attendants prevailed over his terrors, his ſtomach would no longer receive the food they proffered, and he periſhed for want of ſuſtenance. His character has already been deſcribed as mild, generous, and courteous; generally ſunk in indolence and effeminacy, but ſometimes riſing into thoſe exertions of virtue which diſtinguiſh the hero and the prince. His life had been chequered by every viciſſitude of fortune; and when he had triumphed over the hereditary enemies of his throne, he at laſt expired the victim of domeſtic diſſention. His remains, neglected by his ſon, were interred at the expence of his faithful companion Tannegui de Chaſtel. A. D. 1461.

Chapter

Chapter the Nineteenth.

ACCESSION OF LEWIS THE ELEVENTH.—LEAGUE FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.—BATTLE OF MONTLEHERI.—TREATIES OF CONFLANS AND SAINT MAUR.—INTERVIEW OF LEWIS AT PERONNE WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—IMPRISONMENT OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—REVOLUTIONS IN ENGLAND.—EDWARD THE FOURTH INVADES FRANCE.—TREATY OF PECQUIGNY.

A. D. 1461. LEWIS the Eleventh received the intelligence of his father's death with a joy which he affected not to conceal: The competition of his younger brother, the duke of Berri, vaniſhed at his appearance; his coronation was celebrated with magnificence at Rheims, and graced by the preſence of the duke of Burgundy and the count of Charolois. The firſt emotions of the king's gratitude for the protection he had met with, was diſplayed in his declaring the count his lieutenant-general in Normandy, with a ſalary of twelve

twelve thouſand crowns; but theſe marks of eſteem and confidence were tranſient and deceitful, and were ſoon ſucceeded by an enmity between thoſe rival princes, which only expired with life.

From his youth addicted to intrigue, and delighting to tread the crooked paths of policy in preference to the open road which lay before him, Lewis, while he loaded the count of Charolois with careſſes, ratified the treaty which his father had made with the people of Liege; though he well knew it had been ſuggeſted to Charles by reſentment at the reception which the duke of Burgundy had afforded him; and although he had engaged to that prince not only to annul the treaty, but to join his arms againſt the Liegeois. With a greater degree of conſiſtency, with an avowed contempt for the meaſures of his father, the miniſters of the late monarch were ignominiouſly diſmiſſed; the count of Dammartin was committed to the Baſtile; and the duke of Alençon, who had been impriſoned for his treaſonable practices againſt Charles the Seventh, was immediately releaſed: Yet the new monarch puniſhed an inſurrection of the citizens of Rheims, againſt his own authority, with the moſt exemplary ſeverity.

Some troops which Lewis had granted to the diſtreſs of Margaret of Anjou, A. D. 1462, 1465.

conſort of Henry the Sixth of England, and for which he had ſtipulated the reſtoration of Calais if that princeſs proved ſucceſsful, were defeated, and Breze, ſeneſchal of Normandy, who commanded, eſcaped with difficulty. But the ſuccours which he ſent to the aſſiſtance of John, king of Arragon, whoſe ſubjects had ſhaken off their allegiance to a prince ſtained with the blood of his own ſon, were accompanied by that fortune which the guilty cauſe they had eſpouſed but ill deſerved. With his forces, Lewis had lent to that monarch the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns; and the important counties of Rouſillon and Cerdagne, ſubject to redemption, were transferred to him as the ſecurity for the money he had advanced.

The kingdom of Naples, which formerly belonged to the houſe of Anjou, had been uſurped by that of Arragon, and was now poſſeſſed by Ferdinand, a natural ſon of Alphonſo, the late king. The duke of Calabria, the ſon of Reignier, the titular monarch of Naples, Sicily, and Jeruſalem, found the inclinations of the Neapolitans favourable to his pretenſions. In the fruitleſs hope of reſtoring his kinſman, and to incline the pope to the enterpriſe, Lewis revoked the Pragmatic Sanction, which had been eſtabliſhed by his father. But Pius the Second, whoſe nephew was married to the daughter of Ferdinand, ſtill refuſed to ſanction the claim

claim of the duke of Calabria; and the king of France, to eſcape the charge of levity, and yet to avoid being duped by the arts of the pontiff, ſuffered his parliament to carry into execution the Pragmatic Sanction, which he had ſolemnly cancelled.

Some differences between the crowns of France and Caſtile were productive of an interview between the two monarchs, Lewis, and Henry the Fourth, ſurnamed the Impotent. They met at Mauleon, on the confines of the kingdom of Navarre; and their different diſpoſitions were evinced by their contraſted appearance. Henry, vain, magnificent, and haughty, was attended by a ſplendid train; Lewis, mean in his perſon, clad in coarſe cloth ſhort and unbecoming, a leaden image of the Virgin in his bonnet, was ſlenderly accompanied; but the wealth the former had expended in his ſumptuous preparations, the latter employed to bribe the miniſters of Caſtile and Arragon; and the two kings, after a fruitleſs conference, returned with a thorough contempt of the ſordidneſs of the one and the incapacity of the other.

With better ſucceſs Lewis entered into a negociation with the duke of Burgundy, to procure the reſtitution of thoſe towns on the river Somme which had been ceded by Charles the Seventh, at

the treaty of Arras; and which, in effect, made Philip maſter of Picardy. The meaſure was oppoſed by the count of Charolois; but the king of France had corrupted John de Croy, the miniſter of the duke: His influence prevailed; and four hundred thouſand crowns were given to recover theſe valuable pledges; yet with them he inſured the laſting enmity of the count, who ever afterwards regarded Lewis with jealouſy and hatred. Even in this tranſaction, the duplicity of that monarch was ſtudiouſly diſplayed: He had agreed to retain the officers appointed by the duke as governors of theſe towns; but no ſooner was he in poſſeſſion than he diſplaced them, and at the ſame time nominated others, whom he knew would be equally acceptable to Philip.

A prince who profeſſes to deceive muſt be univerſally ſuſpected; and when to theſe crooked arts was united a preſumption founded on the facility with which he had hitherto accompliſhed his projects, his danger muſt be proportioned to the power of thoſe whom he has over-reached and oppreſſed. Arthur, the late duke of Brittany, and conſtable of France, was ſucceeded in that duchy by Francis, a weak but generous prince, whoſe imbecility was ſupplied by the abilities of his miniſters. Lewis, who held him in contempt, had inſulted him by mandates of the moſt deſ-

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potic and imperious nature. He forbad him to levy any taxes in his dominions; to coin money; or to term himſelf "Duke by the grace of God." And Francis, unable ſingly to oppoſe the arrogance of Lewis, by the advice of his council, affected to ſubmit, while he privately negociated a confederacy which threatened to ſubvert the throne of his oppreſſor.

The nobles of France had been equally bruiſed by the iron ſway of their ſovereign; the duke of Orleans, the firſt prince of the blood, reſpected for his years and virtues, had preſumed to remonſtrate againſt his arbitrary meaſures. The injurious reproaches of Lewis affected a mind too ſenſible of diſhonour; and two days after, the duke of Orleans ſunk into the grave beneath the preſſure of unmerited inſult. His death affected not the relentleſs heart of his royal kinſman; whoſe reſentment was perpetuated by abandoning the pretenſions of the houſe of Orleans to the duchy of Milan, and entering into an alliance with Franciſco Sforza, who had uſurped thoſe dominions.

The count of Charolois openly complained that the perfidy of the king of France had been directed to ſeize his own perſon, and that of his father, the duke of Burgundy. To theſe princes the duke of Brittany cloſely united himſelf; the confede-

racy was ſwelled by the acceſſion of the dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, the counts of Dunois and St. Pol, and the count of Dammartin, who had eſcaped from his impriſonment. The ſecret, which was imparted to near five hundred perſons, was preſerved inviolably; and the duke of Berri, the king's brother, ſoon joined the conſpirators; who, to deſcribe their views, aſſumed the lofty diſtinction of the League for the public Good.

The duke of Brittany, to fortify his hopes, had entered into an alliance with Edward the Fourth, who at that time occupied the throne of England; and the king of France, ſecure and unſuſpicious of the ſtorm which was gathering, reſolved to preſs the ſubmiſſion of his vaſſal by the moſt vigorous meaſures. Under the pretence of a pilgrimage, he advanced to Poitou, a ſituation convenient for his projected invaſion of Brittany. But from this deſign he was recalled to provide for his own defence; the eſcape of the duke of Berri was the ſignal for open hoſtilities; and while the duke of Brittany entered France on one ſide, the count of Charolois on the other paſſed the Somme, and rapidly advanced towards Paris.

Amidſt this alarming concurrence of circumſtances, the genius of Lewis, active, penetrating, and peculiarly calculated to extricate him from difficulties, eminently appeared: To prevent the junction

junction of the Bretons and Burgundians, he diligently pointed his march towards the capital, which was already inſulted by the hoſtile arms of the count of Charolois. On the intelligence of the king's approach, that prince advanced to Montleheri, about eight leagues beyond that city. But while he anxiouſly awaited there the arrival of his confederates, the preſence of the royal army compelled him to hazard an action, ſingly and unſupported. The ſuſpicions of Lewis, always lively, and now particularly arouſed by the conſciouſneſs of his own perfidious arts, and by the numbers who daily deſerted him, were extended to Breze, ſeneſchal of Normandy, to whom he had entruſted the conduct of his army. He eagerly demanded of that leader, whether he had not ſubſcribed the league of his enemies? "They "have indeed," anſwered Breze, "my hand-"writing; but my body is your majeſty's." To efface the doubts of Lewis, the ſeneſchal determined immediately to engage: With the vanguard he drew ſo near the count of Charolois, that a battle was inevitable; and the king, unable to retire without diſgrace, was reluctantly induced to give the ſignal of attack.

The battle of Montleheri was obſtinately diſputed for above five hours; the field preſented a ſcene of confuſed carnage, without either ſkill or

order; the count of Charolois here firſt diſplayed that impetuous courage which ever after characteriſed him through life; and the king, cool and intrepid amidſt the dangers which ſurrounded him, extorted even from his adverſaries the admiration of his perſonal valour. Yet the efforts of the leaders were but ill ſeconded by their troops; and ſtruck with a ſudden panic, the greateſt part of both armies deſerted the conflict. On the ſide of Lewis periſhed Breze himſelf, and about fifteen hundred men; the loſs of the count of Charolois was nearly equal: But that prince, though wounded in the throat, ſtill kept the field, and claimed the victory; while Lewis, anxious to preſerve the metropolis, and diſtruſtful of the attachment of its citizens, haſtily decamped, and entered Paris.

The attention of the king of France was immediately directed to ſecure the affections of the inhabitants of his capital. He endeavoured to inſinuate himſelf into their boſoms by that pliability of addreſs of which he was ſo eminently maſter; he adopted manners the moſt engaging and popular; he courted the wives and daughters of the mechanics; he promiſed a repeal of every burdenſome or extraordinary impoſt; and he extended ſeveral acts of grace to retain them in their allegiance. In the mean time the duke of Brittany had joined the count of Charolois; and the confederates, ſwelled to a hoſt of one hundred

dred thouſand men, among whom were five hundred Swiſs, the firſt ever ſeen in France, ſwept the open country, and encamped in the villages adjacent to Paris. But they in vain attempted to gain poſſeſſion of that city by blockade, by famine, and by intrigue; conſtant ſupplies were introduced by the rivers the Maine, the Yonne, and the Seine; and the hopes of inſurrection were baffled by the prudence and vigilance of Lewis. Terms of accommodation ſucceeded a fruitleſs ſiege; a conference was propoſed and agreed upon between the king of France and the count of Charolois; and in a treaty that prince obtained for himſelf and his next heir the towns upon the Somme, which had already been ranſomed; and the diſtricts of Boulogne, Guiſne, Peronne, Mondidier, and Roye, as a perpetual inheritance. In a ſeparate and ſubſequent treaty, the reſt of the confederates were gratified in their demands; Charles, the brother of the king, received the duchy of Normandy, which Lewis more readily granted, as he was already appriſed of the revolt of Rouen. To the duke of Bourbon was allotted Donchery, ſeveral lordſhips in Auvergne, and a hundred thouſand crowns. The duke of Brittany acquired Montfort and Eſtampes; the count of Dunois occupied his former military poſts; the count of St. Pol was inveſted with the ſword

of

of Conſtable; and Anthony de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, was reſtored to his eſtate, and ſoon became an acknowledged favourite of his ſovereign. The league thus broken, each member of it returned to his reſpective dominions or caſtles; while the king, the moment he had ſigned, proteſted againſt the treaty, in the preſence of ſeveral confidential members of the parliament of Paris, as contrary to the intereſts of the crown; and held himſelf in readineſs to improve each favourable moment, and ſingly to cruſh thoſe opponents, to whoſe united force he had reluctantly ſubmitted

A. D. 1466. The count of Charolois had conſented to an accommodation with Lewis, that he might exert his entire ſtrength againſt the rebellious inhabitants of Liege; Edward the Fourth of England was ſcarce confirmed on his throne, which he had aſcended by the expulſion of the Houſe of Lancaſter; the king of France therefore ſeized the ready opportunity to ſhake off the fetters which the late treaties had impoſed. He gained the duke of Bourbon, the moſt able and moderate of the confederates, by a ſpecious acknowledgment that his deſerts had not hitherto been properly conſidered, and by beſtowing on him the hand of Jane, his natural daughter, with the dowry of Uſſon in Auvergne,

vergne, and Moras, Beaurepaire, and Cornillon, in Dauphiné; while the diſcontents between the dukes of Brittany and Normandy enabled him to ſecure the neutrality of the former, and to recover what he had unwillingly ceded to the latter.

Charles, duke of Normandy, timid in his diſpoſition and feeble in his mind, had abandoned himſelf to counſellors equally weak and ſordid. Theſe ſoon embroiled him with his royal brother; and Lewis, vigorous and rapid in his movements, entered the province he had ſo lately yielded, and made himſelf maſter of Vernon, Giſors, Gournay, and Louviers. Rouen ſoon opened her gates and implored his mercy; and Charles, deſtitute of reſources and allies, deprived of both his titles of Normandy and Berri, was forced to ſeek a doubtful ſhelter from the ſtorm in the court of the duke of Brittany, and even to ſell his plate to procure a wretched ſubſiſtence.

To attach to his intereſts the Houſe of Anjou, the king of France preſented to the duke of Calabria the ſum of twenty-four thouſand livres; but at the ſame time he ſeverely puniſhed the count of Maine, whom he diſcovered to have held a ſecret correſpondence with the confederates. The effects of hope and fear, which ſo entirely influence the human mind, were ſucceſsfully excited by the policy of Lewis; who liberally

liberally rewarded his adherents, and chaſtiſed with exemplary rigour his adverſaries. Yet when prudence dictated, he could diſguiſe his reſentments, nor ſuffered paſſion to interfere with his intereſt. Lewis of Luxembourg, count of St. Pol, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Montleheri as an active and enterpriſing general, and as a zealous partizan of the league; he had afterwards extorted from the king the ſword of Conſtable; but Lewis, ſenſible of his abilities and ſplendid connexions, determined if poſſible to detach him from the Houſe of Burgundy, and to ſecure his future fidelity by a marriage with Mary of Savoy, the ſiſter of his queen.

A. D. 1467. The death of Philip, duke of Burgundy, whoſe juſtice, beneficence, and paternal attention to his people had acquired him the ſurname of *Good*, devolved his ſpacious dominions on his ſon Charles, count of Charolois: That prince, of fiery and impetuous manners, bold in action, patient of fatigue, and daring in his deſigns, had already humbled the rebellious people of Liege; he had reluctantly ſuffered the brother of the king to be diſpoſſeſſed of the duchy of Normandy, and had beheld with a lively jealouſy of the growing power of France, the tardy and ineffectual efforts of the duke of Brittany to reſtore him. With Francis he had entered into a ſecret treaty;

treaty; but the Bretons were already driven from the poſts they had occupied in Normandy before the duke of Burgundy paſſed the Somme; and the king dreading the confederacy of thoſe powerful neighbours concluded an inſtant peace with the duke of Britanny; conſented to allow his brother the duke of Normandy, but who was now ſimply ſtiled Monſieur, an income ſufficient to maintain the dignity of his birth; and deſirous of availing himſelf of his ſuperior addreſs in negociation, he determined on a perſonal interview with the duke of Burgundy.

Peronne, a town of Picardy, and in the poſſeſſion of the duke of Burgundy, was appointed as the place of conference; and Lewis, attended by a ſlender train, and accompanied only by cardinal Balue, the duke of Bourbon, and the conſtable the count de St. Pol, entered the hoſtile walls. Intent on deceiving his rival, and improvident of his own ſecurity, he committed himſelf to the faith of a prince whom he had invariably endeavoured to delude; even common prudence ſeems for a moment to have deſerted a boſom lately occupied by ſuſpicion, and a mind which teemed with every wily ſtratagem. The duke of Burgundy received the king with every mark of diſtinction, and lodged him in the town of Peronne; but the concourſe of A. D. 1468.

Burgundian

Burgundian lords and other perſons of rank, the avowed enemies of Lewis, who daily arrived, awaked too late the apprehenſions of that monarch; his fears plunged him into an error ſtill more dangerous than that which his preſumption had ſuggeſted; for his immediate ſecurity, he requeſted he might have apartments aſſigned him in the caſtle; and thus voluntarily delivered himſelf a priſoner at the diſcretion of Charles.

Previous to the interview the king, whoſe grand object was to keep the duke of Burgundy conſtantly employed in domeſtic wars, had ſent agents privately to Liege, to induce the inhabitants to reſume their arms by a promiſe of protection: Whether intent on higher deſigns his memory betrayed him, or that he did not expect the conſequence of his intrigues would be inſtantaneous, the danger that might reſult from theſe practices appears not to have been the object of a moment's conſideration. Inflamed by his arts, a conſiderable number of the Liegeois aſſembled privately at Tongres, where the biſhop of Liege and the lord D'Himbercourt, a Burgundian officer of high eſtimation, were quartered with two thouſand men; the conſpirators ſuddenly ſurpriſed the town, captured the biſhop and the governor, maſſacred part of their train, and after ſatiating themſelves

ſelves with ſlaughter, retired with their priſoners to Liege.

The intelligence was quickly conveyed to the duke of Burgundy; and it was added, that the ambaſſadors of the king of France had appeared in perſon, animating the inſurgents. The paſſions of Charles, always impetuous, were on this occaſion heightened to fury. In a tranſport of rage, he reproached Lewis with his breach of faith, commanded the gates of the caſtle to be ſhut and ſtrictly guarded, and denounced vengeance againſt the perfidious monarch who had deceived him. While Charles concerted what meaſures to purſue with the miniſters he moſt confided in, the cauſe of his violence reached the ears of the king of France. Lewis, naturally timid and irreſolute, in the hands of his mortal enemy whom he had deeply offended, ſurrounded with people who deteſted him, and ſhut up in a chamber at a fort of that very town where Herbert, count of Vermandois had confined Charles the Simple, underwent by anticipation all the horrors of death. Yet in this dangerous criſis his art never forſook him; he diſtributed large ſums of money among thoſe officers whoſe opinions were moſt likely to influence the duke of Burgundy, and endeavoured by ſplendid preſents and promiſes to allay the reſentment of his enemies,

mies, and to confirm the attachment of his friends. Three days he paſſed in a ſtate of painful ſuſpence, while Charles, without deigning to viſit him, maintained an indignant ſilence. At length the rage of that prince gradually ſubſided; and on the fourth morning he propoſed to the king the conditions which he had fixed as the price of his freedom.

Theſe differed but little from thoſe which compoſed the former treaty; but the friendſhip of the duke ſtipulated for Charles, the brother of the king, the counties of Champagne and Brie, in lieu of the duchy of Normandy, of which he had been deſpoiled; and his reſentment inſiſted on the preſence of Lewis, while he avenged the late maſſacre at Tongres, and chaſtiſed the revolt of the inhabitants of Liege. The two princes immediately formed the ſiege of that city; the walls had been partly deſtroyed in the aſſault of the preceding year; but the breaches, which had been neglected by the confidence, were defended by the deſpair of the citizens, enamoured of freedom, and hopeleſs of pardon. The mareſchal of Burgundy, who had preſſed forward as to a certain victory, was admoniſhed to reſpect the ſteady valour of the inhabitants, who crouded through their gates to encounter him. In a more daring ſally, the Liegeois penetrated to the very quarters of the king of France

France and the duke of Burgundy: For a moment, the deſtruction of Lewis and Charles appeared inevitable; and it was not without the moſt ſtrenuous efforts of perſonal proweſs, that they at length repelled their enemies. But the animated effuſions of enthuſiaſm ſoon ſunk before the increaſing numbers and inceſſant attacks of the beſiegers; Liege was carried by ſtorm; the city was devoted to the flames; and the citizens effaced by their blood the cruelties which they had practiſed at Tongres.

Lewis had been compelled to contribute his aſſiſtance to the reduction of the unhappy people whom he had excited to revolt, and to witneſs the puniſhment of a crime which he himſelf had ſuggeſted. He was now permitted to return to France; but before he quitted the dominions of the duke of Burgundy, he enquired of that prince what conduct he expected him to purſue if his brother ſhould not be ſatisfied with the counties of Champagne and Brie? "In that caſe," replied Charles, "I ſhall with-"draw all future mediation, and leave you to ac-"commodate your own differences." An important anſwer, which was haſtily given, and which the king of France received with pleaſure, and ſoon converted to his advantage.

A. D. 1469, 1471. The ſituation of Champagne and Brie, in the vicinity of the Burgundian dominions, would have infallibly cemented the alliance between the two dukes; and Lewis had no ſooner arrived at Paris than he exerted his abilities and addreſs to prevail on his brother to accept in exchange the county of Guienne. That prince, weak, and deceived by the marks of kindneſs which the king affected towards him, complied with the propoſal, and changed his title of duke of Normandy to aſſume that of Guienne. But convinced when it was too late of the error he had committed, and allured by the hopes of a marriage with Mary of Burgundy, the only daughter of and heireſs to the vaſt poſſeſſions of Charles, he began to renew his confederacy with that prince and with the duke of Brittany. Before their meaſures were ripe, Lewis himſelf had determined on open hoſtilities: He had reluctantly yielded the towns of the Somme, which expoſed Picardy to the controul of his rival; and he now prepared to recover by arms what he had loſt by his imprudence. As a peer of France, the duke of Burgundy was ſummoned to the parliament of Paris; and on his refuſal, the conſtable St. Pol inveſted and poſſeſſed himſelf of St. Quintin. Amiens, Roie, and Mondidier ſoon after opened their gates to the French; and Charles

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was leſs diſmayed by the loſs of theſe cities than by the defection of his natural brother, Baldwin, whoſe fidelity Lewis had corrupted. Uncertain whom to truſt, and doubtful of the event of war, the haughty diſpoſition of Charles condeſcended to ſolicit a peace: To enforce his propoſal, he croſſed the Somme with a numerous army; and Lewis, ſwayed by his natural reſolution, conſented to a truce for a year.

When the king of France firſt reſolved to attack the duke of Burgundy, A. D. 1470, 1471. he was encouraged in that enterpriſe by a new revolution in England. The earl of Warwic, whoſe valour and popularity had contributed ſo eminently to raiſe Edward the Fourth to the throne, had quitted the cauſe of that prince in diſguſt, and eſpouſed the claim of Henry the Sixth, from whoſe feeble hand he had formerly wreſted the ſceptre. Charles of Burgundy had married the ſiſter of Edward; and Lewis, impelled by his natural enmity to the allies and connections of Charles, furniſhed Warwic with a fleet to eſcort him, and granted him a ſupply of men and money. That nobleman landed at Dartmouth; and the ſpirit of diſcontent ſoon ſwelled his martial train to an army of ſixty thouſand men: Near Nottingham, the camp of Edward was betrayed by the ſecret adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter, and the partizans of Warwick. Edward himſelf, amidſt the

fuſion of a nocturnal tumult, eluded the ſearch of his enemies, and with a ſmall retinue fled to Lynn in Norfolk; there he fortunately found ſome ſhips ready, in which he embarked, and eſcaped with difficulty into the port of Alcmaer in Holland.

But the hopes which Lewis might entertain from the reſtoration of Henry the Sixth, were ſoon diſſipated by a ſecond revolution equally rapid and extraordinary. Although the repeated information which Charles had conveyed to his brother-in-law of the deſigns of Warwic had been diſregarded, yet intereſt and inclination prompted him to make ſome efforts in the ſupport of ſo near a kinſman; and he dreaded leſt Henry and Lewis ſhould overwhelm him with their united arms: He determined however to conceal his preparations as much as poſſible, and if unſucceſsful to diſavow them. Four large veſſels were equipped at Terveer in Zealand; and fourteen ſhips were ſecretly hired from the Hanſeatic League; a confederacy which originated with the cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh, and which afterwards included eighty conſiderable cities, ſcattered through thoſe countries that ſtretch from the bottom of the Baltic to Cologne on the Rhine. With this ſmall ſquadron Edward, impatient for revenge, ſteered towards England: After an ineffectual attempt on the coaſt of Norfolk, he landed at Ravenſpur in York-

ſhire; he ſoon obtained poſſeſſion of the city of York; and by the acceſſion of his adherents found himſelf at the head of a formidable army. By ſecret and rapid marches he evaded the forces of Warwic, poſted near Leiceſter; preſented himſelf at the gates, and was received by the citizens of London. In the battle of Barnet he defeated Warwic, who periſhed in the field; in a ſecond action near Tewkeſbury he again triumphed over the Lancaſtrians; and the murder of Henry the Sixth, and his only ſon, ſeemed to extinguiſh the hopes of that party, and finally to ſecure the crown to the houſe of York.

The ſucceſs of his brother-in-law revived the ambition of the duke of Burgundy; he reſumed his negociations with the king of England, the duke of Brittany, and the duke of Guienne. The latter prince was again allured by the hopes of marrying Margaret of Burgundy: But while the deſigns of the confederates preſented the faireſt proſpect, it was again overcaſt by the ſudden and myſterious death of the duke of Guienne; an event ſo fortunate for Lewis as to occaſion an univerſal ſuſpicion of his having haſtened it by poiſon. A variety of circumſtances combined with the character of Lewis to confirm the public opinion. The abbot of St. John d'Angeli, on whom the A. D. 1472.

general voice had fixed as the inſtrument of this atrocious deed, was found in the morning appointed for his trial ſtrangled, and lying dead in his cell; and it was commonly believed that the king had not heſitated to conceal the firſt crime by the perpetration of a ſecond. With a conduct equally dark and deſigning, he procured documents tending to trace the authors of his brother's fate to be brought to him; he even appointed commiſſioners to enter upon their examination; but this tribunal was not allowed to come to any deciſion, although the members of it were rewarded by Lewis, who eagerly ſeized Guienne, and re-united it to the crown of France.

The indignation and reſentment of the duke of Burgundy was again arouſed by the deplorable and unexpected death of his ally; he entered Picardy with an army, determined to wreak his vengeance on the unhappy ſubjects of the unnatural Lewis, and to ſacrifice to the memory of the duke of Guienne every inhabitant who fell into his power. The unfortunate citizens of Neſle were the firſt to encounter his fury, and were involved in a promiſcuous maſſacre, without reſpect of ſex or age. But Beauvais, confident in her walls and the ſtrength of her garriſon, derided his menaces, and repulſed his attacks; while Charles, diſappointed in this attempt, raiſed the

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hopeleſs ſiege, entered the country of Caux, ſeized the cities of Eu and St. Valery, delivered Longueville to the flames, and extended his devaſtations as far as the gates of Rouen.

Lewis, uniform and conſtant in his deſigns, had, during the invaſion of his furious rival, encamped on the frontiers of Brittany, determined to diſſolve the league between Francis and Edward the Fourth. The latter prince, occupied in the internal regulation of his own kingdom, was deterred from affording that ready ſuccour which his allies required; and the duke of Brittany, unable to face the royal army of Lewis, ſubſcribed a truce for a year: His example was followed by the duke of Burgundy, whoſe impolitic violence in deſtroying the open country had proved fatal to his own deſigns, and compelled him for want of ſubſiſtence to retire towards his own dominions, and to agree to a ceſſation of hoſtilities.

This interval from war was diligently employed by each prince in endeavours A. D. 1473. to increaſe the number of his own adherents, and to corrupt thoſe of his adverſary. Of the nobles of France, Lewis of Luxemburgh, count de St. Pol and conſtable of that kingdom, claimed the preheminence in power and abilities: His territories lay between the king's and thoſe of the duke of Burgundy; St. Quintin, Ham, and Bohain

hain acknowledged his authority; and the revenue which he drew from his poſts, and the martial train which he maintained, reſembled rather the eſtabliſhment of a ſovereign than a ſubject. At the battle of Montleheri he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as one of the moſt active chiefs of the league; and though he had ſince preſerved the external appearance of allegiance to Lewis, yet he had never heſitated to engage in every rebellious negociation. To reconcile ſome differences which had ariſen between the king and himſelf, he had inſulted the dignity of the crown by inſiſting on a perſonal conference; and at their interview he ſtudiouſly affected to diſplay his diſtruſt by the precautions which he openly made uſe of, and the number of armed partizans by which he was attended. From this conference he retired, after vowing inviolable fidelity in future, to enter into freſh intrigues with Edward the Fourth of England, and with the duke of Burgundy.

Though Edward conſidered himſelf but little indebted to the duke of Burgundy for the reception which Charles had given him during his exile, yet policy induced theſe princes to maintain a cloſe connection, and they agreed to unite their arms in making a powerful invaſion on France. A league was formed, in which Edward ſtipulated to paſs the ſeas with an army exceeding ten thouſand

ſand men, and to invade the French territories; Charles promiſed to join him with all his forces. The king of England was to challenge the crown of France, and to obtain at leaſt the provinces of Normandy and Guienne; the duke was to acquire Champagne, and ſome adjacent diſtricts, and to free his dominions from homage; neither party was to make peace without the conſent of the other. The intereſt of the duke of Brittany they naturally concluded would induce him to join their ſtandard; and the count de St. Pol had ſecretly engaged to receive the Engliſh into St. Quintin, and into the other towns which he occupied on the river Somme.

The ſituation of Lewis was at leaſt delicate if not dangerous; and he was preſerved from the ſtorm equally by his own dexterity and the indiſcretion of his adverſaries. The king of England had paſſed over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thouſand archers; but the impatient temper of the duke of Burgundy could ill brook the neceſſary delay which attended the levying ſo formidable a force: Enamoured of new deſigns, he had already engaged in a quarrel with the whole Germanic body by laying ſiege to the town of Nuiz on the Rhine; and while he pertinaciouſly adhered to this enterpriſe, he in vain endeavoured A. D. 1474.

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in perſon to excuſe his breach of treaty, and to extort the approbation of his ally to a meaſure ſo fatal to their mutual intereſts. Yet Edward advanced into Picardy, in expectation that the conſtable would at leaſt have performed his promiſe, and delivered into his hands the town of St. Quintin; but St. Pol, by a double piece of treachery, deceived his allies, and enabled Lewis to diſſolve a league, which if it had been ſtrictly maintained, might have renewed the diſaſtrous defeats of Crecy and Azincourt.

A. D. 1475. Lewis, ſenſible of his inability to oppoſe the confederates by arms, had recourſe to artifice and negociation, his uſual engines: Swayed more by political views than the point of honour, he deemed no ſubmiſſions too mean which might free him from his enemies. Edward, voluptuous and indolent, and diſſatisfied with his allies, lent a ready ear to his propoſals. The king of France ſtipulated to pay to the king of England ſeventy-five thouſand crowns, on his conſenting immediately to repaſs the ſeas: To this condition was added another, which plainly proclaimed the ignominious badge of tribute; fifty thouſand crowns a year were ſettled on Edward for his life; and the laſt article betrothed the dauphin when of age to the eldeſt daughter of the king of England. In vain did the duke of Burgundy loudly

loudly clamour againſt this injurious treaty; Edward, unmoved by his reproaches, and Lewis indifferent to his menaces, ratified the peace at a perſonal interview at Pecquigny, near Amiens. Yet the lapſe of ſucceſſive years had not effaced the guilty conference of Montereau; and the two monarchs in their preparations ſeem to have been actuated by a mutual diſtruſt. In the middle of the bridge of Pecquigny, a grated barrier was erected, the intervals of which would only allow an arm to paſs; on oppoſite ſides the two princes appeared; and after conferring privately together, and confirming the articles of peace, they parted with liberal but hollow profeſſions of reciprocal friendſhip and eſteem.

Yet however the abject conceſſions of Lewis might degrade the dignity of the king of France, his ſoul on this occaſion ſeemed not deſtitute of humanity; and amidſt a variety of intereſted intrigues, one action of genuine liberality commands our attention and admiration. Margaret, the unfortunate widow of Henry the Sixth, was ranſomed from Edward by Lewis for the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns; and that princeſs, after having experienced ſo many viciſſitudes of life, after having beheld the untimely fate of her huſband, her ſon, and the noble followers of her fortune, found a ſafe affylum in France, where ſhe paſſed the remainder

mainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy.

Although Edward had ſo little reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, he reſerved to that prince a power of acceding to the treaty of Pecquigny; but Charles, naturally haughty, replied that he was able to ſupport himſelf without the aſſiſtance of England, and that he would make no peace with Lewis till three months after the return of Edward into his own country. To this reſolution he adhered; but that period was no ſooner elapſed than he negociated and concluded a truce for nine years.

When theſe princes agreed to ſuſpend their active enmity for ſo long a term, the public articles they ſubſcribed contained only mutual ſtipulations for the common advantages of their ſubjects; but in private they had ſigned an agreement of different import. The perfidy of the count de St. Pol had rendered him obnoxious to all parties, and his ruin was ſecretly determined; on the firſt intelligence of the implacable reſentment of Lewis, the conſtable, confounded and irreſolute, had fled to Mons in Hainault. But the duke of Burgundy had already conſented to deliver him up; and the count de St. Pol, after a haſty trial, was condemned, and executed on a public ſcaffold. His fate was the merited conſequence of his repeated

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acts of perfidy and ingratitude; yet the compoſure and undaunted courage with which he encountered death, effaced the remembrance of his guilt; and poſterity has not failed to brand the avarice and rapacity of Charles of Burgundy, who ſtipulated the eſtates and moveables of St. Pol as the price of the unhappy fugitive whom he betrayed.

Chapter the Twentieth.

WARS OF CHARLES THE BOLD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—DEATH OF THAT PRINCE.—BURGUNDY AND ARTOIS RE-ANNEXED TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE.—ACQUISITION OF PROVENCE.—DEATH OF LEWIS THE ELEVENTH.—SKETCH OF THE CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE FROM THE ACCESSION OF HUGH CAPET TO THE DEATH OF LEWIS THE ELEVENTH.

A. D. 1476. LEWIS had effectually extinguiſhed the enmity or ambition of the king of England by a ſervile compliance with the demand of tribute, which he in vain endeavoured to diſguiſe under the name of a penſion; he had compelled the duke of Brittany to ſubſcribe a new and ſeparate treaty, by which he renounced all alliances with the enemies of France; by the execution of the count de St. Pol he had ſtruck terror into the ſeditious vaſſals of the crown; but the duke of Burgundy was ſtill a rival, whoſe growing

ing greatneſs haunted his imagination, and claimed his conſtant attention. That prince had lately reduced the city of Nancy, and added the country of Lorrain to his former dominions. But Charles poſſeſſed the courage and ambition of a conqueror, without the prudence or policy of a ſtateſman: Ever ardent in his enterpriſes, his reſtleſs diſpoſition on ſome imaginary inſult precipitated him againſt the Swiſs, a virtuous and hardy people, who had purchaſed their freedom by the boldeſt oppoſition to Auſtrian tyranny, and who cheriſhed it with an enthuſiaſtic affection amidſt their lakes and mountains.

The Swiſs in vain attempted to deprecate the wrath of Charles by the moſt humble applications for peace; in vain did they offer to abandon all alliances that were contrary to his intereſt, and for a ſmall ſubſidy to ſupply him with a body of ſix thouſand men to ſerve indiſcriminately againſt his enemies. Charles was deaf to every propoſal, however ſubmiſſive or advantageous; he entered a bleak and mountainous country, which only could recompence his hazard and toils with barren laurels. After reducing ſome inconſiderable places he laid ſiege to Granſon: That town was defended by the obſtinate valour of ſeven or eight hundred Swiſs, zealous in the cauſe of their country, and reſolute to vindicate their liberty.

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The cantons of Berne, Lucerne, Fribourg, and Zurich, armed in their behalf: But Granſon had ſurrendered at diſcretion, and the garriſon had already been ſacrificed to the reſentment of Charles, before the confederates could arrive. The duke of Burgundy, after this example of ſeverity, might have maintained the advantageous poſt he had occupied, and derided the efforts of his enemies, whom poverty muſt ſoon have compelled to diſperſe. But he obſtinately rejected the advice of his moſt experienced officers, and preſſed forwards to the fatal conflict. Confiding in the ſuperior numbers and diſcipline of an army, which is repreſented as amounting to fifty thouſand men, he precipitately entered the defiles of the mountains, and was encountered and defeated by ſcarce ten thouſand Swiſs, haſtily collected and rudely armed, but animated by an invincible love of freedom. Yet the Swiſs, deſtitute of cavalry, were unable to continue the purſuit, and improve the advantage. In the action of Granſon, the duke of Burgundy loſt only ſeven men at arms; but his military cheſt, his ſuperb plate, and his jewels, the moſt ſplendid in Europe, were the prey of the victors; and the Swiſs were firſt taught the value of riches from the magnificent ſpoils of the field.

A mind elated by conſtant proſperity could ill ſubmit to the iron ſcourge of adverſity; the diſappointment

appointment of Charles was attended by a ſevere indiſpoſition: But he could ſcarce raiſe himſelf from the couch of ſickneſs before he reſumed his arms, and prepared to efface the ſhame of his late defeat. By language the moſt ſubmiſſive, and by profeſſions the moſt laviſh, he endeavoured to ſecure the neutrality of the king of France: That monarch, though he affected to behold with unconcern, diligently watched the meaſures of his rival. Wary and cautious, he ſtill declined to engage in open hoſtilities; but with his gold he nurſed the hopes, and fortified the independent ſpirits of the Swiſs; while Charles, inacceſſible to council, and bent on deſtruction, re-aſſembled his ſcattered forces; and in four months from the defeat of Granſon, with an army of twenty-three thouſand men, he inveſted Morat, a ſmall town near the city of Berne.

The Swiſs, reinforced by the confederate cities of Germany, might compoſe a body of thirty thouſand men: Their valour was directed by the experience, and inflamed by the example of Renè, duke of Lorrain, whoſe territories the duke of Burgundy had ſeized, and who was now inſpired with a thirſt of vengeance, and the hopes of returning dominion. Charles, on intelligence of their approach, raiſed the ſiege of Morat, and advanced to meet them. But his impetuoſity was

ill-ſeconded by his troops; the ſteady courage of the Swiſs triumphed over all obſtacles; a body of four thouſand horſe compleated the confuſion of the vanquiſhed; and eighteen thouſand Burgundians were ſuppoſed to have periſhed in the battle of Morat: The duke of Burgundy himſelf continued his flight beyond the mountains; and it was not till he arrived at St. Claud, that he conſidered himſelf in ſafety.

The actions of Granſon and Morat convinced Lewis that he could not more effectually atchieve the deſtruction of the duke than by abandoning him to his own unbridled paſſions, and to the war againſt the Swiſs, which he ſtill perſevered in with incredible obſtinacy. The late defeats had cooled the ardour of his allies, and confirmed the confidence of his enemies; the duke of Lorrain had recovered the city of Nancy, and great part of his dominions; while Charles, overwhelmed with ſhame and indignation, paſſed his melancholy hours at le Riviere, and ſecluded himſelf almoſt from the ſight of his moſt confidential miniſters.

But the loſs of Nancy rouſed him from his lethargy; and thoſe efforts which might have preſerved that city he determined on too late to recover it. He inveſted it with a third army againſt the advice of his moſt experienced officers; but Charles, conſcious of his own breach of faith

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to the count de St. Pol, had ever ſince the death of that nobleman been diſtruſtful of his ſubjects, and endeavoured to ſecure his perſon by the attachments of foreigners. Among theſe, the count de Campobaſſo, a native of Naples, and exiled thence as a partizan of the Houſe of Anjou, held the principal place in his favour. Whatever motives might ſtimulate him, Campobaſſo repaid the kindneſs of the duke with the blackeſt ingratitude and baſeſt treaſon; it is obſcurely hinted that he once ſuffered from the ungovernable rage of Charles, the indignity of a blow; but all hiſtorians agree, that he repeatedly offered to the king of France to deliver up to him his maſter, alive or dead. Though Lewis was but little ſcrupulous in the meaſures which he adopted, he abhorred a treachery which diſſolved all ties between the prince and his ſervant; he even revealed the deſign to the duke of Burgundy: But the character of Lewis induced Charles to deſpiſe the intelligence. "If it were true, the king would never "impart to me ſo important a ſecret," was the reply of Charles; who even redoubled his marks of confidence and attachment to the perfidious Neapolitan.

The duke of Burgundy was ſtill occupied in the ſiege of Nancy, which he preſſed, regardleſs of the inclemency of win- A. D. 1477.

ter, when he was alarmed by the approach of a numerous army of Germans, commanded by the duke of Lorrain, who diligently advanced to the relief of his capital. Charles quitted his entrenchments to meet his enemies; his army, ſcarce amounting to four thouſand men, haraſſed by inceſſant ſervice, and diſpirited by former defeats, was ſoon broken by the ſuperior numbers of the Germans. Charles himſelf in vain fought with the moſt heroic courage, and expoſed his perſon wherever the danger was moſt conſpicuous; when the rout became general, he was borne away in the flight. Campobaſſo, who had deſerted previous to the action with about eighty men at arms, left twelve or fifteen men about the duke's perſon, with a ſtrict command to aſſaſſinate him amidſt the tumult: Theſe executed their deteſtable commiſſion too faithfully; and two days afterwards the body of Charles was found dead, naked, and frozen; and pierced with three wounds.

Thus fell the laſt male heir of the houſe of Burgundy, a victim to his own ill-concerted enterpriſes and preſumptuous courage. Lewis, ſenſible of his danger and anxious for his fate, at the moment of his death, was at his favourite reſidence of Pleſſis le Tours; he received the intelligence with immoderate joy; and the liberal re-

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compence he beſtowed on the meſſenger proclaimed his unbounded tranſports at the deſtruction of his rival. The death of Charles opened a wide and flattering proſpect to his ambition: That prince left behind him an empty treaſury, a feeble council, and an army without courage or diſcipline. His only daughter, Mary, had not yet attained her twentieth year; and during the life of her father ſhe had been ſucceſſively promiſed to ſeveral different princes, according as their alliances were favourable to the ambitious projects he entertained. Several of the provinces which Mary inherited had been diſmembered from the kingdom of France; and the dominions of Lewis, which ſtretched along the frontier of her territories, pointed out to his hopes the favourable moment of aggrandiſement.

That he might be able to exert his whole force on this occaſion, he refuſed to ſupport the pretenſions of the duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, and whom he had compelled to marry Jane, his youngeſt daughter, a princeſs ignorant, deformed, and deemed incapable of bearing children. The untimely fate of Galeas, duke of Milan, who was aſſaſſinated in the midſt of his guards, ſeemed to open a deſirable opportunity for the duke of Orleans to ſubſtantiate the claims to that duchy, which he derived from his grand-mother Valentina Viſcomti; but Lewis, whoſe natural

jealouſy would probably have prevented him from countenancing the meaſure, was now ſolely engroſſed by the expectation of uniting to his crown the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy. Two paths preſented themſelves to his view: The firſt was the marriage of the dauphin, the ſecond that of the count of Angouleme, a prince of the blood, with the daughter of the late duke. By the former he would have annexed all her territories to his own, and rendered France the moſt powerful monarchy in Europe; but one obſtacle intervened in the diſparity of age between the dauphin, then only eight years old, and Mary, who was already twenty. The Flemings alſo regarded with diſtruſt the choice of a maſter poſſeſſed of ſuch reſources as might enable him to oppreſs their liberties; and the dread of whoſe government was increaſed by the odious maxims which he publicly profeſſed. From theſe objections the count of Angouleme was free; and Mary herſelf had diſcovered ſome inclination to beſtow her hand on that prince. By this marriage Lewis would have prevented her dominions from being conveyed to a rival power; and in return for the ſplendid eſtabliſhment which the count of Angouleme would obtain, he might have ſtipulated conceſſions highly beneficial to the crown of France. But that monarch had been ſo long accuſtomed to tread the crooked paths of inſidious policy,

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that he deſpiſed the plain and open road; and whether actuated by the dread of aggrandiſing a ſubject, or his unrelenting deteſtation of the race of Burgundy, he adopted a courſe leſs likely to ſucceed, but better adapted to his genius, and more conſiſtent with his diſpoſition.

While he amuſed Mary with inſiſting on the impracticable match with the dauphin, he propoſed to render himſelf, by force of arms, maſter of her dominions. He addreſſed circular letters to the principal cities of the duchy, repreſenting that Burgundy had only been given by king John to the male heirs of his ſon Philip, and that it now conſequently reverted to the crown. Though he was ſenſible that this plea could impoſe on none, yet he was ſatisfied that it might afford an excuſe to thoſe whom the more perſuaſive arguments of intereſt ſhould allure to his ſtandard. The governors of the towns were corrupted to deſert their ſovereign; the inhabitants were ſeduced to riſe againſt thoſe governors who preſerved their allegiance; and upon the approach of Lewis, Ham, Perronne, St. Quintin, Roie, Mondidier, Vervins and Landrecy, opened their gates to him The ſtates aſſembled at Dijon were ſummoned to yield obedience to the king; theſe complied upon the expreſs condition, that a general amneſty ſhould be granted to all thoſe who had ſerved the late

duke, or who were ſtill attached to the princeſs his daughter; and that the king ſhould evacuate the duchy in caſe Charles, their rightful prince, again appeared; a ſtipulation founded on a report which was eagerly circulated, that Charles had eſcaped the diſaſtrous field of Nancy, and had retired to Jeruſalem to paſs the remainder of his days in ſolitude and penitence.

The province of Artois was ſubdued by the ſame means as the county of Burgundy; but Flanders reſiſted the arms and arts of the king of France. Oliver le Dain, who though at firſt only barber to Lewis, ſoon acquired the confidence of that monarch, held intelligence with the inhabitants of Ghent; but diſappointed in his hopes of exciting theſe to revolt againſt Mary, he retired precipitately to Tournay, whoſe citizens readily liſtened to his ſplendid promiſes, and opened their gates to a detachment of the French. Meanwhile Dammartin, grand maſter to Lewis, ſurpriſed and levelled Aveſne to the ground, burnt Caſſel, and ravaged the open country with that ſpirit of devaſtation which could only be ſuggeſted by his unfeeling ſovereign.

Nor were the talents and induſtry of Lewis leſs diſplayed in the cabinet than in the field. His practices unfold a ſeries of the meaneſt falſhood, and the deepeſt treachery. He negociated with Mary;

Mary; and in order to render her odious to her ſubjects, he betrayed to them her moſt important ſecrets; he carried on a private correſpondence with the two miniſters whom ſhe chiefly truſted, and then communicated the letters which he had received from them to the ſtates of Flanders; who, enraged at their perfidy, brought them immediately to trial, tortured them with extreme cruelty, and unmoved by the tears and entreaties of their ſovereign, who knew and approved of all that the miniſters had done, they beheaded them in her preſence.

But the perfidy which Lewis practiſed againſt the miniſters, and the fury with which he ravaged the fertile fields of the Flemings, inſtead of ſubduing, ſerved only to confirm the averſion of that people to his government; and Mary, with the approbation of the States of Flanders, beſtowed her hand and noble inheritance on Maximilian, archduke of Auſtria, and ſon of the emperor Frederick the Third; while the king of France, alarmed at having thus unexpectedly aggrandized a rival power, endeavoured to counterbalance the error by an alliance with Edward the Fourth of England. He had previouſly infected that monarch, who was frequently actuated by paſſions unworthy of a ſovereign and a ſtateſman, with a jealouſy of his brother Clarence; this had induced

induced the king of England to neglect the advances which were made of marrying Clarence to Mary of Burgundy, and inclined him to behold with indifference the conqueſt of Lewis over that country; he now conſented to convert the truce formerly concluded into a ſolid peace, which was to continue during the life of the two kings, and for a year after.

A. D. 1478. The independence of Flanders was fortified by the union of Maximilian with Mary; and by the return of the prince of Orange to the party of that princeſs, the flames of war were again extended to the cities of Burgundy. The French were expelled from ſeveral conſiderable towns; and Lewis had reaſon hourly to apprehend the entire revolt of that country, when his fears were diſſipated by unexpected overtures of peace from Maximilian. The commiſſioners of the two monarchs concluded a truce at Lens, without expreſſing any term for its duration, and without including the county of Burgundy, which was ſoon again reduced by the arms of Lewis.

This ſuſpenſion of public hoſtilities could ſcarce be called a ſtate of tranquillity to the unhappy ſubjects of France; with his years the ſanguinary diſpoſition of Lewis increaſed; he had nouriſhed an inceſſant deſire of vengeance againſt James d'Ar-

d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, one of the firſt noblemen in the kingdom, and who had appeared a zealous confederate in the "*League for the public* "*Good.*" The authority of the ſovereign gradually extended, no longer knew any bounds but his own will; the execution of the count de St. Pol had broken the ſpirits of the nobility of France; and Lewis reſolved to ſatiate his thirſt of revenge on the duke of Nemours. That unfortunate nobleman, to avoid the reſentment of his royal maſter, had retired to the fortreſs of Carlat, among the mountains of Auvergne. He was there beſieged by the ſeigneur de Beaujeu, who had married Anne, the daughter of Lewis: But the ſituation of the caſtle rendered it almoſt inacceſſible by force; and the duke of Nemours received the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of ſafety, if he would ſurrender himſelf. Confiding in the honour of his enemy, he complied; but the king, who ſported with all the ties of virtue and ſociety, cauſed him, in violation of his ſolemn compact, to be carried to the Baſtile: He was confined within an iron cage, the familiar inſtrument of his ſovereign's cruelty; even the judges, who reluctantly condemned him to be beheaded, were reprimanded becauſe they had releaſed him from the narrow circle of his confinement during his examination. The inhumanity of the king extended beyond the ſentence, to inſult

ſult the offspring and embitter the laſt moments of the unhappy criminal: By an unprecedented refinement in cruelty, he commanded the two ſons of the duke, as yet in early childhood, and conſequently incapable of any participation in the treaſon, to be placed directly under the ſcaffold; where they were covered with the blood of their wretched father, which deſcended on their heads.

The concurring teſtimony of contemporary hiſtorians ſcarce allow us to credit the various barbarities which ſtamp with indelible infamy the reign of Lewis: Four thouſand perſons, without the form of trial, are ſuppoſed to have periſhed the unhappy victims of his bloody ſuſpicions and reſentments: Yet while we deteſt his cruelty, we are frequently compelled to acknowledge his firmneſs and ſagacity. The wealth of the family of the Medici, acquired by trade, and the magnificent ſpirit of the firſt Coſmo gave him ſuch an aſcendancy over his countrymen, that though the forms of a popular government were preſerved, he was in reality the head of the commonwealth. A conſiderable degree of his power he tranſmitted to his deſcendants; his grandſons, Laurence and Julian, had rendered themſelves obnoxious to pope Sixtus the Fourth; and the holy ſucceſſor of St. Peter did not heſitate to engage the envy of ſome citizens of Florence in a conſpiracy

ſpiracy againſt the lives of the Medici. The church was fixed on as the ſcene of action; Julian periſhed by the daggers of the aſſaſſins; but Laurence was preſerved amidſt the tumult by the zeal and fidelity of his friends. At the ſame moment the troops of Sixtus entered the territories of Florence, and extended their devaſtations to the gates of the city. The houſe of Medici, unequal to the conteſt, implored the protection of the king of France. Lewis, though the ſlave of the moſt abject ſuperſtition, aſſerted on this occaſion the pretenſions of Laurence againſt the Roman pontiff; and the court of Rome, after an ineffectual diſplay of thoſe arts for which ſhe was celebrated, was compelled to recall her cenſures, and yield to the powerful mediation of the king of France.

To ſecure more firmly the friendſhip of England, Lewis contracted the dauphin to Elizabeth, the eldeſt daughter of Edward the Fourth; while Maximilian, ardent and fickle in his enterpriſes, reſumed his claim to Burgundy, and renewed the war before the expiration of the truce. A variety of deſultory actions, and the mutual deſtruction of cities, can afford but little entertainment to the reader; the hoſtile armies at length engaged at Guinegate; the Flemings were broken A. D. 1479.

broken by the impetuous charge of the French; but the victory was raviſhed from the latter by their own imprudence: While they heedleſſly urged the purſuit, the infantry of the Flemings rallied, and returned to the charge; yet the field ſeems only to have been diſtinguiſhed by the indiſcriminate ſlaughter of both parties; and the king of France ſoon obtained a more deciſive advantage at ſea, by the capture of fourſcore veſſels belonging to the Flemings; a loſs ſenſibly felt by a commercial people.

A. D. 1480. Their late diſaſter inclined the ſtates of Flanders to peace, and a truce was agreed to by Lewis, who previouſly terminated a languid and unintereſting war, which he had entered into with Ferdinand, king of Arragon. But nature was oppreſſed by this continual and unwearied application to buſineſs; and at a village near Chinon, in Touraine, he was ſeized with a fit of apoplexy. Two days he lay motionleſs and ſpeechleſs; at the end of which time his voice and intellects returned, but not the health he had formerly enjoyed: Yet his indiſpoſition prevented him not from adjuſting the affairs of Savoy, and declaring himſelf the protector of his infant nephew Charles. With the ſame zeal he applied himſelf to eſtabliſh the tranquil ſucceſſion of his own ſon, by cruſhing the nobles who were moſt capable of reſiſt-

reſiſtance; he ſeized without a ſhadow of pretence the lands of the duke of Bourbon, the only prince who poſſeſſed qualities which could give him any jealouſy; yet the dauphin, for whoſe future grandeur he ſo aſſiduouſly waded through ſeas of blood, he kept a ſort of priſoner in the caſtle of Amboiſe, where none were permitted to approach him except ſervants and perſons of the meaneſt condition; his own conſort, whoſe patient and enduring attachment merited a better treatment, he baniſhed into Savoy; and by his laſt will he expreſsly precluded her from any ſhare in the government, and endeavoured to inſpire his ſon with ſentiments of diſtruſt and averſion towards his mother.

The death of Charles, titular king of Naples, and the laſt prince of the ſecond Houſe of Anjou, added at this juncture the county of Provence to the crown; but while Lewis was employed in ſecuring this new acquiſition a ſecond ſtroke of an apoplexy warned him of his approaching end. Yet he again revived; and allured by the death of Mary of Burgundy, who died by a fall from her horſe in hunting, he reſumed his ambitious intrigues. The fate of that princeſs opened the way to a pacification between the king of France and Maximilian; and the infant daughter of the latter was affianced to the ſon of the former. A. D. 1481, 1482.

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But the king of England, whoſe principal views were directed to obtain ſplendid eſtabliſhments for his daughters, and who had contracted his eldeſt, Elizabeth, to the dauphin, prepared to revenge by arms the breach of faith in Lewis. That monarch, with his uſual art, endeavoured to avert the ſtorm by inciting James, king of Scotland, to make war upon England. But James fell the victim to a conſpiracy of his own nobles; and Edward, burſting from the ſilken bands of pleaſure, purſued with diligence his preparations for the invaſion of France, when his deſigns were broken by the ſudden ſtroke of death, and his deceaſe again plunged his country into all the miſeries of civil commotion, from which it had enjoyed ſo ſhort a reſpite.

A. D. 1483. But while the fortune of the king of France, who on every ſide beheld his enemies humbled and his power increaſed, was the envy of the neighbouring princes; the object of that envy was himſelf anxiouſly employed in the hopeleſs endeavour to prolong a miſerable exiſtence. Every reſource of medicine was in vain exhauſted; every benefit that could be derived from change of climate was in vain experienced; and Lewis, after ineffectually ſeeking reſt through his ſpacious dominions, at laſt fixed his final reſidence at Pleſſis les Tours. The walls of that caſtle were covered

vered with iron ſpikes; a guard of croſs bow-men watched the gates and ramparts night and day; and the guilty tyrant heard his enemies in every paſſing wind. Earth was in vain ranſacked to revive his jaded appetites; heaven was in vain invoked with prayers and proceſſions, to avert his impending doom; all hope was fled; and his favourite, Oliver le Dain, pronounced to him the ſentence of certain and approaching diſſolution; the king heard him without betraying any emotions of terror; he ſent for his ſon Charles from Amboiſe, and employed his laſt moments in adviſing him to cheriſh the princes of his blood; to govern by the counſels of his nobles; to maintain the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom; and to diminiſh the extraordinary impoſts with which he had burdened his ſubjects. This laſt effort exhauſted the ſtrength of the fainting monarch; and after a reign of twenty-three years, which by the acquiſition of Burgundy, Artois, and Provence, laid the foundation of the ſubſequent grandeur of France, Lewis, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, expired. Dreaded by his ſubjects, whom he had continually oppreſſed, and deteſted by his neighbours, whom he had aſſiduouſly deceived, he yet obtained from the diſcernment, or obſequious temper of the repreſentative of St. Peter, the title of the Chriſtian King; a title that has been invariably tranſmitted to his ſucceſſors.

The dark and ſubtle character of Lewis the Eleventh is ſufficiently illuſtrated by a review of his reign; but the arts by which he undermined the freedom of the people, humbled the pride of the nobility, eſtabliſhed a ſtanding army, and converted a limited into a deſpotic government, will, in tracing the conſtitution of France, become the object of our future enquiry. When that throne was occupied by Hugh Capet, the founder of the third race of kings, the royal authority had dwindled into contempt; the governors of provinces and of towns, and the great officers of the crown, had rendered thoſe dignities, originally granted only during pleaſure or for life, hereditary in their families. Each of theſe had uſurped all the rights which had hitherto been deemed the diſtinctions of royalty; and every lord in his diſtrict purſued a diſtinct and ſeparate intereſt. Scarce any common principle of union remained in a kingdom divided into ſo many independent baronies; and the general aſſembly, in its deliberations, could hardly conſider the nation as forming one body, or eſtabliſh common regulations to be of equal force in every part. The barons, the members of the ſupreme aſſembly, which ſoon after was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *States General*, avoided enacting any general laws, the execution of which muſt have been inveſted

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in the king, and would have enlarged that paramount power which was the object of their jealouſy: They therefore tacitly relinquiſhed the exerciſe of the legiſlative authority, and confined their juriſdiction to the impoſition of new taxes, the determination of queſtions with reſpect to the right of ſucceſſion to the crown, the ſettling the regency when the preceding monarch had not fixed it by will, and the preſenting remonſtrances enumerating the grievances of which the nation wiſhed to obtain redreſs.

But as the kings of France, during ſome centuries, but ſeldom required extraordinary ſubſidies from their ſubjects, and as they were ſtill leſs inclined to liſten to the clamorous remonſtrances of the States General, theſe aſſemblies were rarely ſummoned. The legiſlative authority, ſilently abandoned by the States, was aſſumed gradually by the crown: The deſcendants of Hugh Capet had indeed already promulgated their laws within their own immediate domains; but the reign of Philip Auguſtus is marked by the firſt ordinance, which appears to have been an act of legiſlation extending to the whole kingdom. But it was the care of that monarch to allure his ſubjects to acquieſcence by the prudent objects of his edicts; from the mild tenor in which they were iſſued they ſeemed rather to exhort than command; and

the ſtyle in which they were compoſed, rather proclaimed the provident parent anxious for his childrens welfare, than the dictates of an imperious and arbitrary maſter. The celebrated inſtitutions of St. Lewis, which aboliſhed judicial combats, are diſtinguiſhed by the ſame prominent features. The wiſdom and equity of his code, which at firſt was only publiſhed to be obſerved within his own domains, enſured it a favourable reception throughout the kingdom; and the virtues and good intentions of its author contributed to reconcile the nation to that legiſlative authority which the king began to aſſume.

The people, from this period, were accuſtomed to behold their kings exerciſing the ſole legiſlative power; and the ſteps which led from this important acquiſition to the right of impoſing taxes were few and eaſy. The ſubject, habituated to obey in points of the greateſt conſequence, were not alarmed when they were required by the royal edicts to contribute certain ſums toward ſupplying the exigencies of government, and carrying forward the meaſures of the nation. The principal nobility of that kingdom who might have ſucceſsfully reſiſted the extenſion of the regal prerogative, had exhauſted their fortunes, or yielded up their lives in the deſtructive wars which clouded the reigns of John the Good, and Charles the Sixth: The remnant which ſtill maintained their

dignity,

dignity, looked up to Charles the Seventh as their deliverer from the yoke of the Engliſh. That monarch was not inſenſible to the advantages of his own ſituation, and the manifeſt decline of that body which he wiſhed to depreſs. He embraced the firſt interval of peace to raiſe the regal prerogative on the ruins of the ariſtocracy, and to new model the conſtitution. The happy complexion of the times allowed him to introduce innovations the moſt important without the leaſt oppoſition. Diſguſted with the capricious ſervice of the vaſſals of the crown, and under pretence of keeping always on foot a force ſufficient to defend the kingdom againſt any ſudden invaſion of the Engliſh, he retained under arms a body of nine thouſand cavalry, and of ſixteen thouſand infantry.

To provide the funds for the ſubſiſtence of this formidable ſtanding army, he ventured by his royal edict, and without the concurrence of the States-general of the kingdom, to levy an extraordinary ſubſidy on his people. By his conciliating addreſs he alſo prevailed on them to render ſeveral taxes perpetual, which had been formerly impoſed only occaſionally, and during a ſhort time. Thus while he freed the crown from a precarious dependence in regard to its revenues on the will of the people, he mortally wounded the ariſtocracy by depriving the nobles of the direction of the military force of

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the ſtate; a ſource from whence they had formerly derived their principal influence and importance.

The ſyſtem which had been cautiouſly and covertly purſued by Charles, was more openly adopted, and more vigorouſly embraced by his ſon and ſucceſſor, Lewis the Eleventh. Yet the daring ſpirit which his early meaſures proclaimed, gave a tranſient union to the nobility whom he wiſhed to oppreſs; a momentary ſally of reſentment linked them in one great plan of defence; and Lewis beheld with terror a confederacy which was dignified by the appellation of *The League for the public Good.* A body compoſed of ſuch diſcordant members could not long retain its ſtability; it was ſoon diſſolved by the arts of Lewis; and the monarch, to avert the danger of a future confederacy, ſteadily perſevered in the plan of more ſilently, though not leſs effectually, extinguiſhing the privileges of the nobles. He filled all the departments of government with new men, and often with perſons whom he had called from the loweſt and moſt deſpiſed functions in life, and raiſed at pleaſure to ſtations of great power or truſt: Theſe were his only confidents whom he conſulted in forming his enterpriſes, and on whom he devolved the execution of them. The barons, removed from the throne, were treated with ſtudied neglect; every artifice was employed to leſſen them in the eſtimation of the people; and the king aſſiduouſly laboured to

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degrade the order, and to reduce the members of it to the ſame level with his other ſubjects. No ſooner had the ſubtle monarch proſcribed his nobility from offices of truſt, and deſpoiled them of popularity, than he threw off the maſk, and diſplayed the open features of the bloody and unfeeling tyrant. Thoſe perſons of rank who preſumed to oppoſe his ſchemes, or were ſo unfortunate as to awaken his jealouſy, were perſecuted with a rigour from which the pride of birth had hitherto exempted them. They were tried by judges who had no right to take cognizance of their actions; they were ſubjected to the moſt ſevere tortures; and were frequently condemned to execution on the public ſcaffold, without regard to their illuſtrious parentage, or the dignity of their condition. The houſes of Luxemburgh and Armagnac were violated by the hands of the common executioner; and the eſtates of the duke of Bourbon were confiſcated by the capricious ſuſpicion of his ſovereign.

The people beheld with aſtoniſhment, but perhaps without regret, an order of men whom they had been accuſtomed to regard with a mixture of reverence and fear, ſhut up in dungeons, carried about in iron cages, or condemned to the moſt degrading deaths, at the voice of their imperious maſter; who while he ſtripped his barons of their power and privileges, daily extended the prerogative

tive of the crown. To the ſtanding forces which his father had raiſed he added ſix thouſand Swiſs, at that time eſteemed the beſt diſciplined infantry in Europe, and whom he attached to his ſervice by the moſt liberal donatives and pay. Theſe he conſidered as the faithful guardians of his authority; in their valour he implicitly confided; and during the latter part of his reign he kept a conſiderable body of them encamped in one place.

Such an additional eſtabliſhment required an augmentation of the royal revenue, and Lewis was not diffident in aſſerting the prerogative which his father had aſſumed of levying taxes without the concurrence of the States-general. The impoſts which Charles the Seventh had eſtabliſhed were nearly trebled by Lewis the Eleventh; and thoſe extraordinary burdens, the odium of which he was unwilling to bear, the ſubtle monarch impoſed through the medium of the States, and daily diminiſhed the popularity of thoſe aſſemblies, by rendering them the inſtruments of his exactions. On theſe occaſions he firſt diſplayed thoſe arts of corruption in which modern princes have ſince ſo eminently excelled; and by influencing the election of repreſentatives, by bribing or overawing the members, by artfully changing the forms of their deliberations, he converted the nominal guardians of the liberties and property of the

people

people into the ſubſervient tools and ſupple miniſters of the crown; and while he affected to reſpect the channel, fatally poiſoned the ſource of freedom.

France by his various acquiſitions, and by the perſevering policy of his adminiſtration, was formed into one compact kingdom, which acknowledged and obeyed the ſingle hand of its maſter. Yet the deſpotiſm of his ſucceſſors was frequently bounded by two powers, which, in the courſe of this hiſtory, it will be repeatedly neceſſary for us to advert to. 1. The nobles of France, who, though deprived by Lewis of political privileges, ſtill poſſeſſed ſeveral perſonal rights, and maintained in the eyes of the people a degree of luſtre and delicacy of character, which frequently checked the daring career of intemperate ſovereignty: 2. The parliament of France, and particularly of Paris, which during thoſe intervals that the States-general had been diſcontinued, had been inſenſibly and gradually gratified with the important permiſſion of adviſing their ſovereign, and of approving and regiſtering his edicts and ordinances, before they were publiſhed and declared to be of authority in the kingdom.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM